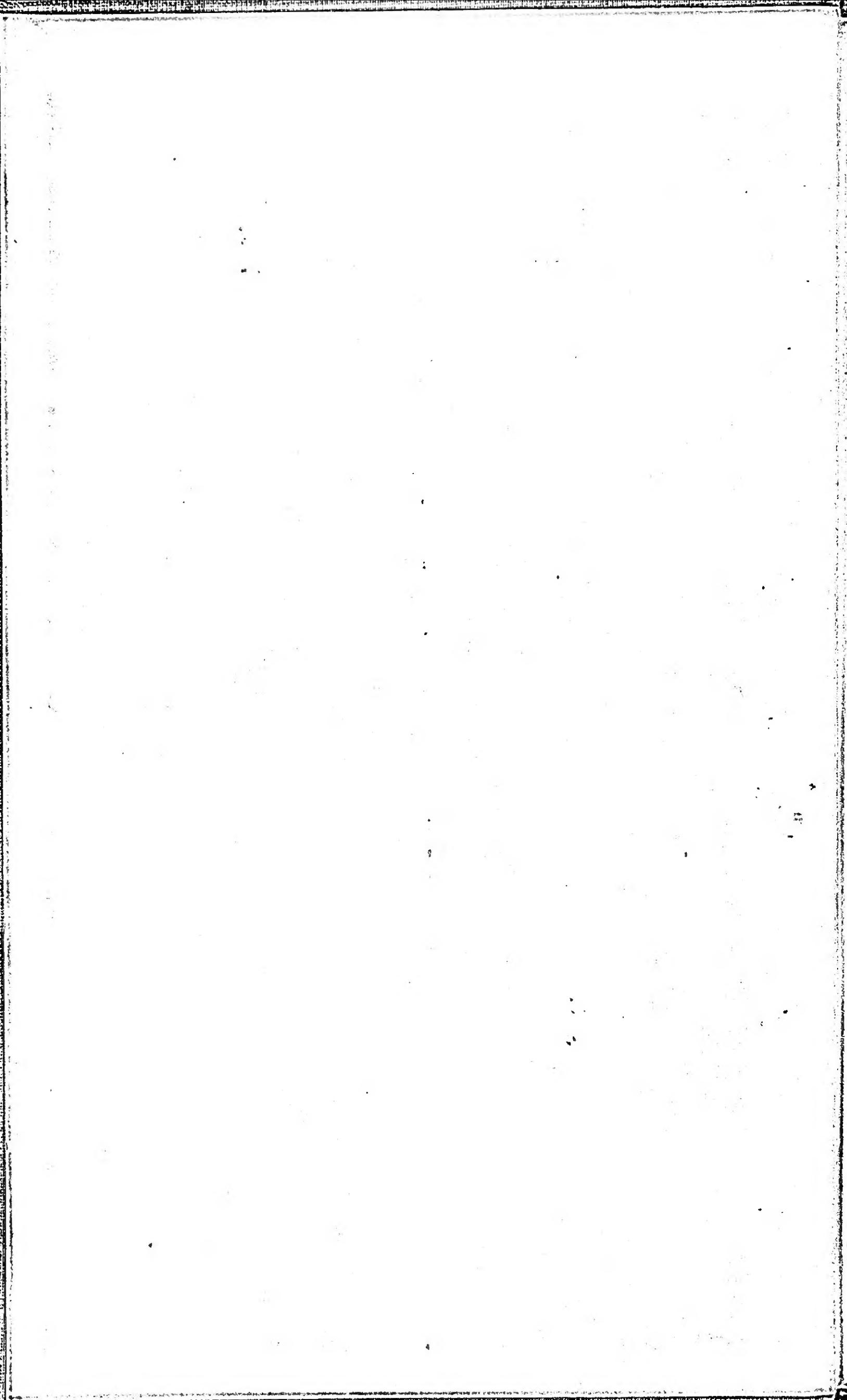
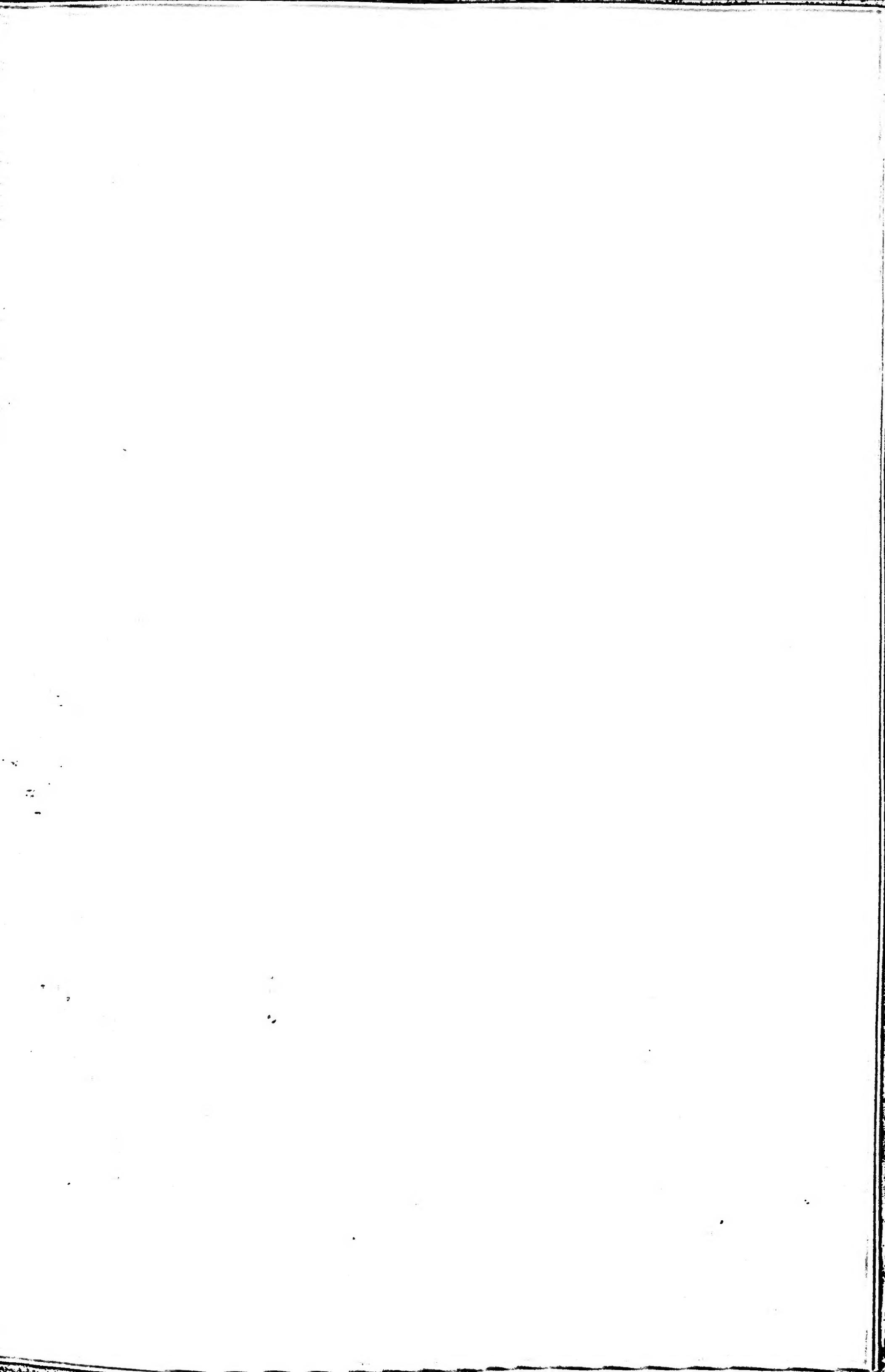
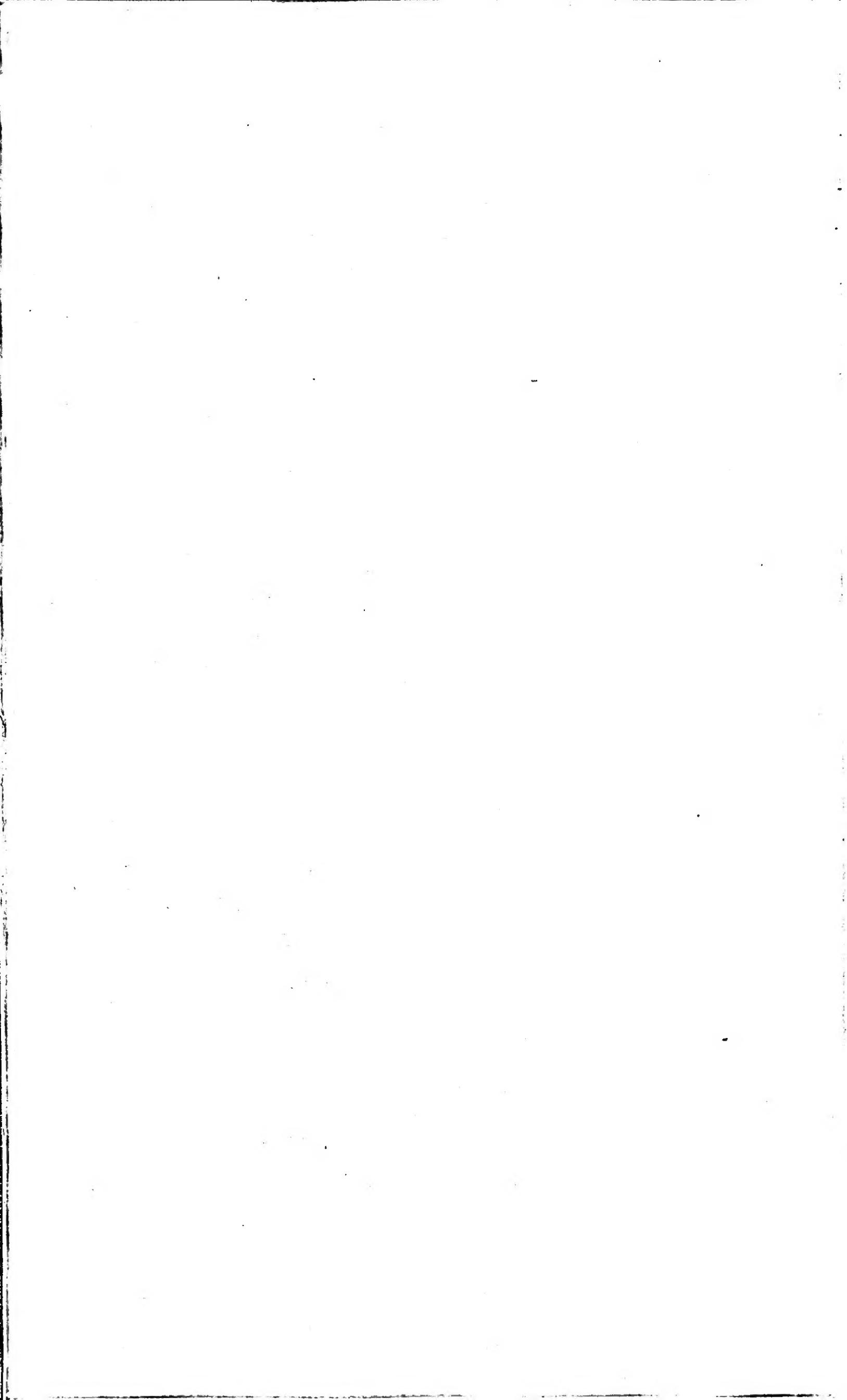


Benjamin Z. Kedar

The Franks in the Levant,
11th to 14th Centuries







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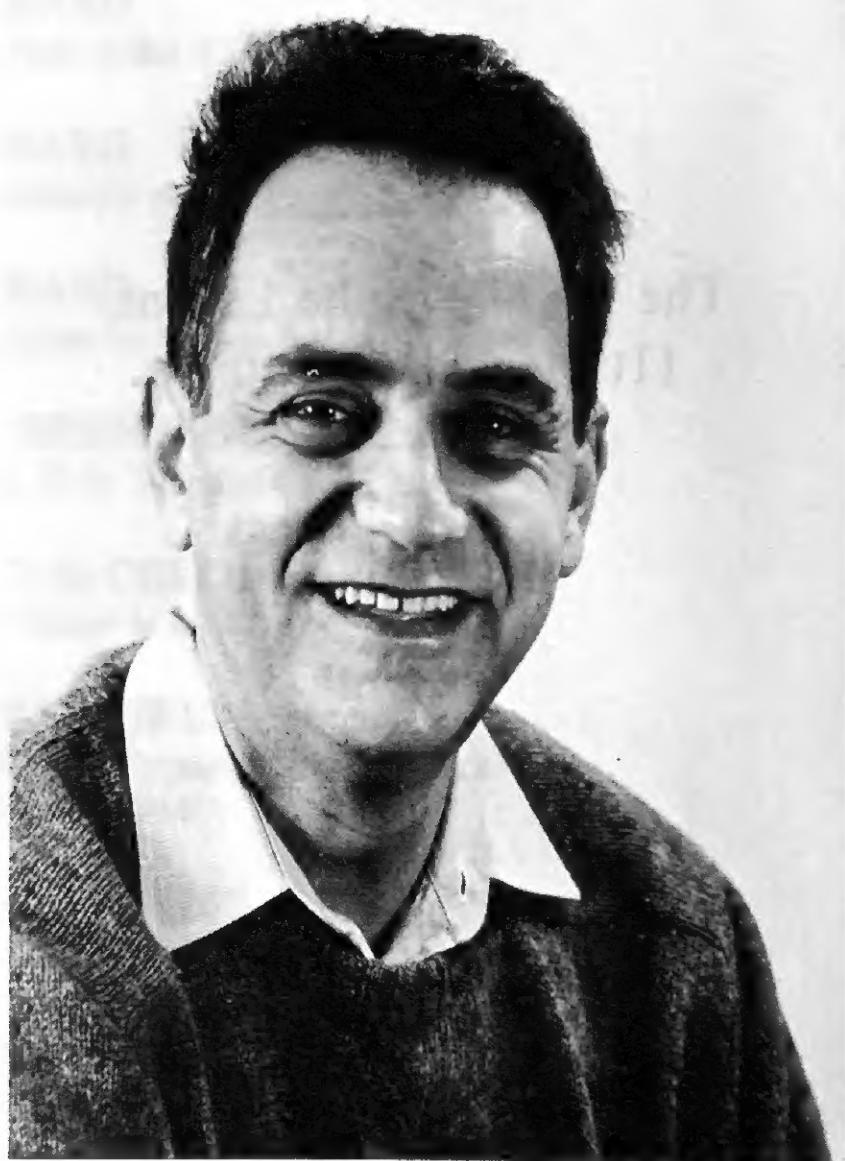
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Professor Benjamin Z. Kedar

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PREFACE

The papers collected in this volume focus on the affairs of the Franks in the Levant before, during, and after the crusades, and on the subjected indigenous population of the Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem. Several of them constitute preparatory work for an intellectual history of that kingdom which I am engaged in writing.

Recourse to the term 'Franks' (rather than 'crusaders') is deliberate. It is a term that, unlike 'crusaders', was used both by the Franks and by their Levantine neighbours and enemies; it is a term that, again unlike 'crusaders', one can apply unhesitatingly to the offspring of westerners born in the Levant; and it is a term that, in an age which witnesses so much historical writing marked by sympathy with — or even touchingly naive glorification of — crusading, may denote a more dispassionate approach. Likewise, the volume concludes with a biographical sketch of that leading *mauvais chrétien*, Segurano Salvaygo, denounced in his day as a traitor to Christianity and an obstacle to crusading. The sketch betokens the belief that persons whose acts were 'not cricket' from the then prevailing point of view, or people who found themselves at the receiving end of 'crusading as an act of love', are entitled to the same understanding as a Godfrey of Bouillon or a King Louis IX of France. Labelling persons — even those of 'The Age of Faith', 'The Age of the Crusades', or 'The Age of the Cathedrals' — as saints or rascals is less than helpful.

Of the twenty-one papers reprinted here, four are expressly presented as joint ventures; with Christian Westergård-Nielsen of Århus, Denys Pringle of Edinburgh, Etan Kohlberg of Jerusalem and Sylvia Schein of Haifa, respectively. But many of the other papers, too, attained their present form because of advice and criticism readily and generously accorded by friends and colleagues. Joshua Prawer, from the moment I told him that summaries of works by a virtually unknown Frankish author of the twelfth century are embedded in a Protestant collection of the sixteenth, would call (from Dumbarton Oaks, where he then was) at odd hours of the day and night, bombarding me with queries and suggestions; and Hans Eberhard Mayer soon joined in with page-long comments on the initial draft. Eliyahu Ashtor devoted many hours to the Arabic and Latin texts that make it possible to piece together the career of Segurano Salvaygo; while R.C. ('Otto') Smail — who for many years had been looking askance at the traditional division of

the Frankish leaders into (as he put it) 'heroes and nincompoops' — critically encouraged the attempt to rewrite the biography of perhaps the most notorious villain of them all, Patriarch Eraclius of Jerusalem. The paper on the Genoese merchants who arrived in Alexandria about a generation before the First Crusade originated in discussions with Gabriella Airaldi; Nurith Kenaan-Kedar shared her knowledge of the medieval Church of the Holy Sepulchre when I was studying the documents about the golden inscription that appear, after all, to have been located there. And the idea of examining present-day pronunciations of the Arabic word *rizq* was one of Robert Lopez' many brainchildren.

The ensuing papers, however imperfect, are decidedly superior to anything I might have written on my own; and a number of them I could not have written at all unaided. I only regret that the number of full-scale joint ventures was not still larger, for the study of Frankish activities in the medieval Levant — like all studies relating to two or more cultural spheres — can only profit from a convergence of skills and viewpoints. Last but not least, such joint ventures do much for one's own education: indeed, they may represent the most advanced stage of professional training.

*
* * *

I would like to thank the following for their permission to reprint the articles contained in this volume: the rector of the University of Genoa (for articles I and III); the director of the Centro Italiano di Studi sull' Alto Medioevo, Spoleto (II, XVI); the publishing manager of the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C. (IV); the managing editor of *Mediaeval Scandinavia*, Odense (V); the editors of the *Revue Bénédictine*, Maredsous (VI); the editors of the *English Historical Review*, Oxford (VII); the director of Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, Jerusalem (VIII, IX); the editors of the *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, Munich (X); the editors of the *Israel Exploration Journal*, Jerusalem (XI); the editors of *Asian and African Studies*, Haifa (XII); the Università Pontificia Salesiana, Rome (XIII); the editors of the Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Syracuse, N.Y. (XIV); the deputy editor-in-chief of the Akadémiai Kiadó és Nyomda, Budapest (XV); the editors of *Crusade and Settlement*, Cardiff (XVII); Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J. (XVIII); J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen (XIX); the director of the Ecole Nationale des Chartes, Paris (XX); the Società editrice il Mulino, Bologna (XXI).

Misprints and minor corrections in the articles have, as far as possible,

been corrected. Some *addenda* and *corrigenda*, as indicated by a dagger in the margin of the articles, are provided at the end of the volume.

BENJAMIN Z. KEDAR

*The Institute for Advanced Studies,
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem,
December 1992*

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The articles in this volume, as in all others in the Collected Studies Series, have not been given a new, continuous pagination. In order to avoid confusion, and to facilitate their use where these same studies have been referred to elsewhere, the original pagination has been maintained wherever possible.

Each article has been given a Roman number in order of appearance, as listed in the Contents. This number is repeated on each page and quoted in the index entries.

MERCANTI GENOVESI IN ALESSANDRIA D'EGITTO NEGLI ANNI SESSANTA DEL SECOLO XI

Secondo l'opinione prevalente, i Genovesi non furono attivi nel Mediterraneo orientale prima degli ultimi anni dell'XI secolo. Veneziani e Amalfitani mantenevano rapporti commerciali con l'Egitto durante il X e l'XI secolo — narra un cronista cristiano orientale che ben 160 mercanti di Amalfi furono massacrati al Vecchio Cairo nel 996 —, ma i Genovesi avrebbero fatto la loro comparsa nel Levante solo durante la prima Crociata. In ricompensa dell'aiuto da essi fornito alla conquista di Antiochia nel 1098, di Gerusalemme nel 1099, di Arsuf e Cesarea nel 1101, di S. Giovanni d'Acri nel 1104, di Tripoli nel 1109 e di Beirut nel 1110, vennero loro concessi quartieri autonomi nei principali porti del giovane regno di Gerusalemme, e tali quartieri divennero presto basi di attività commerciale genovese. L'inizio dei rapporti di Genova coi paesi avanzati del Mediterraneo orientale è così presentato in precisa coincidenza con la formazione della *Compagna* genovese del 1099.

Questa presentazione convenzionale deve essere sottoposta a una drastica revisione, in forza dei dati forniti da lettere provenienti dalla Genizah, il famoso magazzino per i manoscritti di scarto, anticamente annesso a una sinagoga del Vecchio Cairo. Queste lettere, benché menzionate en passant da diversi orientalisti, non hanno finora attirato l'attenzione degli studiosi di storia genovese: una nuova manifestazione di quello che è il male odierno della nostra professione: l'inabilità ad abbracciare nella sua interezza il campo della ricerca¹.

1 Viceversa, documenti della Genizah, che contengono informazioni supplementari sul commercio amalfitano con l'Egitto, sono già stati utilizzati per la storia del medesimo: vedi specialmente A.O. CITALLEA, *Patterns in Medieval Trade: the Commerce of Amalfi before*

Il documento, che meno compromette l'opinione accettata circa gli inizi del commercio di Genova col Levante, fu pubblicato nel 1956 da Samuel Miklós Stern. Si tratta di un frammento di una lettera scritta in arabo, indirizzata al califfo fatimide al-Amīr (1101-1130), nella quale un ufficiale anonimo riferisce « il continuo arrivo di mercanti Rūm, che sono venuti a portare il legname, e la cui venuta lo schiavo [cioè l'ufficiale] aveva riferito. Essi sono: Sergio figlio di Costantino e... figlio di... e Grasso (?) figlio di Leo (?) l'Amalfitano e il... e *Bwn Snywn* il Genovese (*al-Djanwī*) e quelli dei loro compagni che sono con loro »². Stern riconobbe prontamente il prefisso « Bon » dietro all'arabo « *Bwn* » e, pur con gravi riserve, menzionò la possibilità che *Snywn* fosse un errore per *Snywr* e che il nome del mercante genovese dovesse quindi leggersi Bon Segnor. (Undici anni più tardi Shelomo Dov Goitein, il decano degli studi sulla Genizah, notando l'apparire dei termini *Snywn* e *Snywr* altrove nella Genizah, espresse l'opinione che *Snywn* = *Senyōn* possa essere un arabismo per *Snywr* = Senior e che il nome del mercante fosse dunque Bon Senior)³.

Stern presentò questo riferimento a un mercante genovese come la più antica menzione di commercio genovese con l'Egitto, esprimendo contemporaneamente la convinzione che l'assenza di informazioni su tale commercio nei documenti del secolo XI non andasse considerata casuale, ma come un riflesso della sua irrilevanza, se non della sua totale assenza. Vent'anni dopo, Claude Cahen, con maggior circospezione, considerava questa

the Crusades, in « The Journal of Economic History », 28, 1968, pp. 531-55.

2 S.M. STERN, *An Original Document from the Fātimid Chancery concerning Italian Merchants*, in « Studi Orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida », voll. 2, Roma, 1956, pp. 529-38; il frammento è edito e tradotto a pp. 532-33, con la riproduzione del facsimile a p. 531. (La traduzione data sopra differisce leggermente da quella di Stern). L'originale si trova alla University Library, Cambridge, Taylor-Schechter Collection, Arabic Box 38, fol. 138.

3 S.D. GOITEIN, *A Mediterranean Society. The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, I, *Economic Foundations*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967, p. 402, n. 32.

lettera come indicazione di una fase, in cui gli Amalfitani godevano ancora del predominio nel commercio con l'Egitto, con Genovesi e altri mercanti attivi ancora solamente in collegamento con gli Amalfitani e da bordo dei loro vascelli⁴. Comunque la lettera, posteriore com'è alla fondazione del regno crociato di Gerusalemme, non imponeva una revisione dell'opinione convenzionale circa l'inizio del commercio di Genova col Levante, anche se documentava la presenza di un Genovese in Egitto a una data anteriore a quanto precedentemente era noto.

Le due lettere che rendono invece necessaria tale revisione furono utilizzate primamente da Goitein nel primo volume della sua magistrale opera *A Mediterranean Society*, comparso nel 1967. La più antica di queste due lettere fu inviata da Nathan b. Nahray di Alessandria al suo primo cugino Nahray b. Nissīm del Vecchio Cairo. Il destinatario della missiva, Nahray, è una delle figure meglio conosciute della comunità ebraica del Vecchio Cairo nel secolo XI, grazie ai più di trecento documenti a lui indirizzati o da lui provenienti che si sono conservati nella Genizah. Nato a Qayrawān, probabilmente intorno al 1025, prima egli si trasferì dalla Tunisia in Egitto e poi, intorno al 1050, si stabilì al Vecchio Cairo, dove fu attivo come mercante e banchiere e divenne una figura di rilievo come studioso e dirigente della comunità. Il più tardo documento datato relativo alla sua carriera è una dichiarazione scritta mentre giaceva infermo o sul letto di morte il 28 aprile 1096; nel 1098 era morto⁵. Ora, la lettera che il cugino di Nahray gli inviò da Alessandria, e che va datata al settimo decennio dell'XI secolo, contiene la seguente frase: « Sono ar-

4 C. CAHEN, *Le commerce d'Amalfi dans le Proche-Orient musulman avant et après la Croisade*, in « Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres », 1977, p. 293, n. 12 e p. 299.

5 Per la carriera di Nahray vedi S. D. GOITEIN, *A Mediterranean Society*, I, pp. 153-159 e *passim*; ID., *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*, Princeton, 1973, pp. 145-174; A. L. UDOVITCH, *A Tale of Two Cities: Commercial Relations between Cairo and Alexandria during the Second Half of the Eleventh Century*, in « The Medieval City. Studies in Honour of Robert S. Lopez », edd. H. A. Miskimin, D. Herlihy e A. L. Udovitch, New Haven and London, 1977, pp. 148-159.

rivate navi dalla terra dei Rūm, da Genova e da altrove, e si dice che tre altre navi arriveranno dalla Spagna »⁶.

Dunque una o più navi provenienti da Genova sono descritte in arrivo ad Alessandria d'Egitto trent'anni o più prima della partenza della prima Crociata. Dal momento che Nathan b. Nahray non presenta per nulla quell'arrivo come un evento fuori del comune, si può ragionevolmente supporre che non si trattava del primo vascello genovese a gettare l'ancora nel porto di Alessandria. Evidentemente il declino dell'importanza della Tunisia come nodo del commercio internazionale — un processo iniziato nei primi decenni del secolo XI e determinato, in primo luogo, dalla comparsa di grosse navi, capaci di raggiungere direttamente il Levante dal Mediterraneo occidentale e, in secondo luogo, dall'instabilità politica della Tunisia — non solo indusse uomini come Nahray ad abbandonare la Tunisia per l'Egitto, ma anche spinse alcuni Genovesi a cercare le merci dell'Oriente direttamente ad Alessandria⁷.

È vero che questi primi mercanti europei che giungevano ai mercati del Levante mancavano ancora di esperienza nel giudicare le varie qualità delle merci orientali. « Essi non sanno distinguere tra roba di prima scelta e roba scadente » — scrive a Nahray da Alessandria un socio d'affari, in riferimento a una vendita di indaco e di brasile — « e per ogni qualità pagano lo stesso prezzo. Così anche per il lino: comprano la qualità mediocre per lo stesso prezzo di quella eccellente e non sono

6 University Library, Cambridge, Taylor-Schechter Collection, T.S. 10 J 16 folio 17, 11.22-23;

traduzione inglese in GOITEIN, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. I, p. 318. Per la data vedi Udovitch, p. 149, che riporta la traduzione dell'intera lettera alle pp. 149-151. Un altro eminente studioso della Genizah, Eliyahu Ashtor, ha fatto riferimento a questa lettera, come pure a T.S. 10 J 16 folio 7, come prova di frequentazione di mercanti genovesi ad Alessandria e al Cairo intorno al 1065: E. ASHTOR, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages*, London, 1976, pp. 196, 353, n. 65.

7 Sul declino dell'importanza della Tunisia nel commercio mediterraneo, vedi S. D. GOITEIN, *Medieval Tunisia: The Hub of the Mediterranean*, nei suoi *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions*, Leiden, 1966, pp. 308-311.

Please note that page 25 of the original, an illustration, has been omitted from

disposti a pagare di più per quest'ultima »⁸. È molto probabile che i primi Genovesi arrivati ad Alessandria fossero considerati dai navigati mercanti locali come dei clienti ingenui, a cui si poteva appioppare merce di seconda categoria con un bel profitto; evidentemente dovette passare un certo tempo prima che i nuovi venuti, giunti dalle sottosviluppate sponde settentrionali del Mediterraneo, acquistassero l'esperienza che, alcune generazioni dopo, veniva riposta nei manuali di mercatura.

Al tempo della formazione del regno crociato di Gerusalemme, mercanti genovesi non solo arrivavano ad Alessandria, ma anche frequentavano i mercati del Vecchio Cairo⁹. Una lettera proveniente dalla Genizah, mandata dal Vecchio Cairo ad Aden all'inizio del XII secolo, riferisce che « il sultano [al-Malik al-Afdal] ha imprigionato i Genovesi, il che ha provocato grande costernazione tra i Rūm [qui: Europei in generale] e per questa ragione non si riesce a vendere merci. Si direbbe che questa crisi debba durare a lungo, sì che tutti gli affari sono fermi »¹⁰. Goitein presenta in maniera convincente l'arresto come una rappresaglia egiziana contro l'assistenza contemporaneamente fornita da altri Genovesi alla conquista crociata dei porti siro-palestinesi.

La presenza di una nave genovese ad Alessandria nel settimo decennio del secolo XI e di mercanti genovesi al Vecchio Cairo nei primi anni del XII, così documentata da queste lettere della Genizah, esige di riprendere in considerazione quattro testi latini. Il primo è una notizia di Caffaro nel *De liberatione*

8 S. D. GOITEIN, *A Mediterranean Society*, p. 46. Goitein, che data la lettera intorno al 1060, porta anche una lettera dalla Sicilia, scritta nel 1064, che mostra come si supponesse che gli Europei si contentassero di merci di seconda scelta, e una lettera del 1085, che riferisce di una vendita molto lucrosa a dei Rūm in un porto palestinese: *ibid.*, p. 45. Per una traduzione leggermente differente del passaggio riportato nel testo, vedi Udovitch, p. 156, che tuttavia data la lettera all'ottavo o nono decennio del secolo XI.

9 La presenza di una nave veneziana al Cairo intorno al 1026 è menzionata nella *Vita S. Symeonis auctore Eberwino abate S. Martini Treviris*, in AA. SS., Iun. I, pp. 86-92.

10 S. D. GOITEIN, *A Mediterranean Society*, p. 45.

civitatum Orientis, secondo cui, alcuni anni prima della Crociata, Goffredo di Buglione e altri nobili settentrionali salparono da Genova per Alessandria a bordo di una nave genovese, la *Pomella*, andarono in pellegrinaggio a Gerusalemme e poi tornarono da Alessandria a Genova a bordo della stessa nave¹¹. Questa notizia in sé e per sé appartiene al regno della leggenda, tanto più chiaramente in quanto tradisce in maniera trasparente il desiderio di Caffaro di piazzare i Genovesi direttamente ai primordi della prima Crociata. Tuttavia, i documenti della Genizah suggeriscono che Caffaro abbia innestato la finzione del pellegrinaggio di Goffredo sulla realtà di veri viaggi di navi genovesi ad Alessandria e ritorno. Sarebbe stato realmente avventato da parte di Caffaro inventare di sana pianta un viaggio genovese ad Alessandria, se fosse stato a tutti noto che tali viaggi non avevano mai avuto luogo prima della prima Crociata: tutt'altra cosa era inventare un passaggio per Genova di Goffredo e dei pellegrini suoi compagni, tutte figure relativamente vaghe a quell'epoca.

In secondo luogo, l'asserzione di Caffaro che, prima della partenza per il Levante dei capi della Crociata, Urbano II mandò due vescovi a Genova ad esortare i cittadini « ut ad deliberandam viam sepulcri Domini cum galeis ad auriemales partes irent, et in societate predictorum principum viriliter starent et pugnarent »¹², acquista maggiore verisimiglianza quando risulti che i Genovesi non solo avevano notoriamente preso parte alla campagna del 1087 contro la saracena al-Mahdiyya, ma erano anche conosciuti per l'esperienza che possedevano nel navigare le acque del Levante.

In terzo luogo, la notizia dello pseudo-Ingulfo, del XIV-XV secolo, che i partecipanti al grande pellegrinaggio del 1065 si imbarcarono a Giaffa su navi genovesi, che avevano fatto scalo in vari porti levantini scambiandovi merci — una affermazione che sia Heyd che Schaube accettavano come un dato

11 *Cafari, De liberatione civitatum Orientis liber*, ed. L. T. BELGRANO in *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori*, vol. I, Genova, 1890, pp. 99-100.

12 *Ibid.*, pp. 101-102.

di fatto —, potrebbe non essere del tutto campata in aria¹³. La cronaca dello pseudo-Ingulfo è naturalmente un falso tardo-medievale e la sua relazione del pellegrinaggio del 1065 contiene errori ovvi¹⁴, ma i frammenti della Genizah suggeriscono l'ipotesi che il falsario possa aver avuto davanti a sé una qualche relazione autentica, facente menzione della presenza di vascelli genovesi a Giaffa¹⁵.

Infine, l'annotazione di Guglielmo di Malmesbury, che dei mercanti, che erano giunti per mare da Montpellier ad Ascalona e che là esaltarono le virtù di Raimondo di St. Gilles, indussero gli Ascaloniti a offrire la loro città a Raimondo nell'agosto 1099, non deve essere considerata in riferimento a mercanti isolati, in cerca di fortuna in paesi remoti, che avevano tagliato i ponti con la città natale¹⁶. Sullo sfondo della testimonianza della Genizah circa arrivi di navi da Genova e

13 «Vere igitur accidente stolus navium Ianuensium in porta (sic) Ioppensi applicuit. In quibus, cum sua mercimonia Christiani mercatores per civitates maritimas commutassent, et sancta loca similiter adorassent, ascendentis omnes, mari nos commisimus. Et iactati fluctibus et procellis innumeris, tandem Brundusium appulimus»: *Ingulphi Historia*, in *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores*, ed. H. Savile, London, 1596, p. 514 a. Cfr. W. HEYD, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen-âge*, trad. F. Raynaud, vol. I, Leipzig, 1886, p. 124; A. SCHAUDE, *Storia del commercio dei popoli latini del Mediterraneo sino alla fine delle Crociate*, trad. P. Bonfante, Torino, 1915, pp. 82-83; vedi anche U. FORTIMENTINI, *Storia di Genova*, vol. 2, Genova, 1941, p. 266.

14 Per la letteratura relativa a questo falso in generale vedi C. GROSS, *The Sources and Literature of English History from the earliest time to about 1485*, 2^a ed., London, 1915, repr. New York, 1951, n. 1371, p. 247; sul passo relativo al pellegrinaggio vedi E. JORANSON, *The Great German Pilgrimage of 1064-1065*, in «The Crusades and other Historical Essays presented to Dana C. Munro», ed. L. J. Paetow, New York, 1928, pp. 7-8 e note 13 e 14.

15 Tale è la conclusione di una discussione tra il professor Eliyahu Ashtor e lo scrivente, tenuta nel corso di un seminario sul commercio di Palestina attraverso i secoli, svoltosi all'Università Ebraica di Gerusalemme nel 1980.

16 WILLEMUS MAMESBIRIENSIS, *De gestis regum Anglorum*, ed. W. STUBBS, vol. 2, (Rolls Series 90), London, 1889, p. 457. Per l'interpretazione secondo la quale il testo si riferisce a mercanti isolati, vedi A.-E. SAYOUS, J. COMBES, *Les commerçants et les capitalistes de Montpellier aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, in «Revue historique»,

da altri porti Rūm, da un lato, e circa l'importanza commerciale di Ascalona, dall'altro, diviene plausibile che alcuni mercanti di Montpellier avessero affari nel Levante prima o durante la prima Crociata.

Nello spiegare l'arresto dei Genovesi al Vecchio Cairo nei primi anni del XII secolo come una rappresaglia egiziana contro la partecipazione di altri Genovesi alla conquista di porti fatimidi lungo le coste siro-palestinesi, Goitein esprimeva la sua meraviglia per la presenza di mercanti genovesi nella capitale dell'impero fatimide, nello stesso momento in cui i loro concittadini erano occupati ad assalire importanti porti di quell'impero. Forse la chiave di questa strana situazione si può trovare in una rilettura di due ben noti passi di Caffaro. Egli riferisce che, dopo che gli inviati di Urbano ebbero esortato i Genovesi a partecipare alla crociata, *multi de melioribus Iannuensibus* presero la croce¹⁷ (uno di questi era *Guillermus de Bono seniore* — e si amerebbe sapere se e come era imparentato con *Bwn Snywn* della lettera della Genizah —). Questi Genovesi, che dovevano aiutare i Crociati nella conquista di Antiochia, partirono di propria iniziativa. Tre anni dopo, quando i governanti del nuovo regno crociato di Gerusalemme chiesero aiuto all'Occidente, i Genovesi posero fine alle « guerras et discordias quas infra se habebant » e mandarono in Oriente la flotta che doveva partecipare alla conquista di Cesarea¹⁸.

Ora, non è forse plausibile che, mentre *Guillermus de Bono seniore* e i suoi compagni decidevano di partire per Antiochia, altri Genovesi continuassero a commerciare con l'Egitto? E non è possibile che le guerre e le discordie intestine non fossero state totalmente eliminate al tempo dell'invio della flotta di Cesarea, e che i Genovesi che assistevano i Crociati speras-

pp. 188-189, 1940, 346; J. BAUMEL, *Histoire d'une seigneurie du Midi de la France*, I, *Naissance de Montpellier (985-1213)*, Montpellier, 1969, p. 99.

17 *Cafari, De liberatione*, p. 102.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 111.

sero consciamente di danneggiare i Genovesi che mantenevano legami di affari con l'Egitto? E invero, non è forse concepibile che la nuova *Compagna* del 1099, che prese forma dopo diciotto mesi di lotta intestina e che collaborò attivamente alla conquista dei porti siro-palestinesi, rappresentasse un elemento nuovo nella società genovese, in competizione con un elemento più vecchio e probabilmente più ricco, il quale manteneva legami commerciali con l'Egitto? Questa è una congettura, che indubbiamente proietta ai primordi alcuni tratti caratteristici della storia genovese posteriore: ma perché si dovrebbe presumere che proprio la prima conciliazione di discordie interne genovesi storicamente ricordata debba essere stata perfetta e assoluta?

Congettura a parte, difficilmente si può dubitare del fatto che il commercio di Genova con l'Egitto, che cominciò almeno trent'anni prima della prima Crociata, mantenesse la sua importanza per molto tempo dopo che i Genovesi si furono stabiliti nei porti del regno crociato. Il cartolare di Giovanni Scriba indica che la somma investita dai suoi clienti nel commercio con Alessandria negli anni 1155-1164 — L. Gen. 9.031 — era solo leggermente più bassa di quella investita nel commercio con l'*Ultramare* crociato — L. Gen. 10.075 —, e che, mentre 58 contratti indicavano Alessandria come prima destinazione, solo 34 indicavano come tale l'*Ultramare*¹⁹. Solo i dati paralleli relativi agli anni 1179-1203 indicano una chiara preponderanza del commercio di Genova con l'*Ultramare* su quello con Alessandria²⁰.

19 E. BACH, *La cité de Gênes au XII^e siècle*, Copenaghen, 1955, pp. 50-51; M. BALARD, *La Romanie génoise (XII^e-début du XV^e siècle)*, vol. 2, Genova, 1978, p. 676.

20 Si veda la mappa degli investimenti genovesi nel Mediterraneo tra il 1179 e il 1203, basata sugli atti notarili genovesi, inserita tra le pp. 470-471 di M. BALARD, *Les Génois en Romanie entre 1204 et 1261*, in « *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire publiés par l'Ecole Française de Rome* », 78, 1966. Una lettera della Genizah, che ricorda il passaggio di un mercante ebreo maghrebino per Genova e Marsiglia all'inizio del XIII secolo, è stata tradotta da S. D. GOITEIN, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Merchants*, p. 59.

Again: Arabic *rizq*, Medieval Latin *risicum*

The origins of the word *risicum*, so common in medieval Latin documents pertaining to the Mediterranean trade, have been sought in the linguistic stocks of all three blocs that bordered on the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages: the Latin West, the Muslim world, and Byzantium. According to Friedrich Diez and his followers, *risicum* stems from the Latin verb *resecare* 'to cut off', by way of a postulated intermediate, * *resecum*, 'clipped rock, reef'. Consequently, *risicum* would have referred, at some early stage, to the challenge which a reef presents to a sailor (¹). L. M. Devic, on the other hand, suggests that *risicum* originated with the Arabic noun *rizq*. This word signifies not only 'anything that has been given to you (by God) and from which you draw profit; means of subsistence; soldiers' pay', but may have also an air of the fortuitous about it. Especially, but not necessarily, as *ar-rizq al-hasan* (the good *rizq*) it means 'unexpected goods which are attained without any anticipation or effort'; in other words, good luck. Hence, *rizq* – fortuitous but favorable – comes to be regarded by Devic as the origin of the equally fortuitous, though mostly unfavorable, *risicum* (²). Finally, a number of Hellenists attempt to derive *risicum* from the Greek (³).

Recently, Henry and Renée Kahane have offered still another explanation. Their point of departure, too, is the Arabic *rizq*, but, unlike Devic, the meaning of *rizq* they depart from is 'means of

(1) F. DIEZ, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen*, Bonn, 1887^b, pp. 271-272; for the most recent formulation, see W. VON WARTBURG, *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, t.10 Basel, 1962, p. 293.

(2) L. M. DEVIC, *Dictionnaire étymologique des mots français d'origine orientale*, Paris, 1876, pp. 194-195. Though Devic does not indicate it, his definition of *ar-rizq al-hasan* is taken from the *Kitāb al-Ta'rifāt* of Al-Djurdjani (1339-1413); cf. *Kitāb al-Ta'rifāt. Definitiones...*, ed. G. FLÜGEL, Leipzig, 1845, p. 115.

(3) For a résumé, see HENRY and RENÉE KAHANE, *Risk*, in *Verba et Vocabula. Ernst Gamillscheg zum 80. Geburtstag*, Munich, 1968, p. 276.

subsistence, maintenance'. In the classic period of the Arab occupation of Egypt, they argue, *rizq* meant 'maintenance of the Arab overlords; requisition of provisions; tax imposed on the indigenous population'. The term recurs in eighth-century Greek papyri of Egypt as *ρουζικόν* and it refers again to the maintenance of the Arab military. Then, in twelfth-century Byzantine Greek, *ρουζικόν* reappears as *ρίζικόν*. The context is once more a military one, but the stress is no longer on a soldier's legal right to requisition but on his luck, good or bad, to enrich himself during a campaign. Then, *ρίζικόν* comes to mean 'luck, chance' in general, and it is in this guise that it travels West and becomes *risicum* (4).

However, both of the main contentions of the Kahanes are questionable. In the first place, it is difficult to see why *rizq* should have evolved into *ρίζικόν* within a military tradition. The only evidence the Kahanes bring forth to substantiate such an evolution is a passage by Eustathios of Salonica who, late in 1185 or early in 1186 (5), describes ἄνδρες τοῦ ρίζικοῦ as men who follow the army without any pay, as they hope that «by taking part in the enterprises, they might make their fortune by chance» (6). But in this sentence by Eustathios *ρίζικόν* means 'luck, chance'; indeed, the Kahanes translate ἄνδρες τοῦ ρίζικοῦ with 'soldiers of fortune'. Again, in a 1156 poem by Michael Glykas – which the Kahanes quote in a different context – *κακορρίζικος* means 'unlucky' (7). It would seem clear, then, that by the second half of the twelfth century, *ρίζικόν* signifies 'luck, chance'. Now, is it not more plausible to link *ρίζικόν* 'luck, chance' with *rizq* in the meaning of 'unexpected goods which are attained without any anticipation or effort; good luck', than to construe a transition, within a military milieu, from *rizq* 'tax system involving the individual in the procurement of his own maintenance' to *ρίζικόν* 'military pay system involving the mercenary's reliance on chance in the procurement of his own maintenance' (8)? After all, the military-milieu hypothesis hinges, at its Byzantine end, on the fact that Eustathios uses the word *ρίζικόν* 'luck, chance' in a sentence that happens to deal with military affairs.

(4) *Ibid.*, pp. 277-282.

(5) For the date, see S. KYRIAKIDIS (ed.), *La espugnazione di Tessalonica*, Palermo, 1961, p. XXXIV.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 150; H. and R. KAHANE, p. 278.

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 279.

(8) *Ibid.*, p. 282.

The contention that *risicum* originated with the Byzantine Greek *ριζικόν* also fails to carry conviction. The earliest instance of *ριζικόν* which the Kahanes quote is the *κακορριζικός* of 1156. In that very same year, however, the term *resicum* appears in an act of Giovanni Scriba, the earliest Genoese notary whose chartularies are extant (9). This – and not the *risicum* of a 1158 Venetian act which has been quoted by the Kahanes (10) – seems to be the earliest occurrence of the Latin term. Now, as *resicum* and *ριζικόν* make their appearance in the documents virtually at the same time, it is impossible to tell whether the Latin term evolved from the Greek one, or vice versa. Both alternatives are plausible; so is the possibility that both *risicum* and *ριζικόν* evolved, quite independently from one another, from the Arabic *rizq*.

But is a direct derivation of *risicum* from *rizq* – that is, the derivation suggested by Devic – acceptable? *Rizq* has a decidedly positive connotation; *risicum*, on the other hand, comes very close – both in the later Middle Ages and in modern parlance – to mean ‘hazard’ or ‘danger’ (11). Devic was aware of this semantic gap and attempted to bridge it by pointing out that in modern French *risque* may have not only a negative but also a positive connotation (12). But this recourse to modern usage is rather inconclusive. Now, however, it is possible to prove that even in the Middle Ages – at least up to the closing years of the thirteenth century, to be precise – *risicum* retained some positive connotations. In the year 1281, an Armenian by the name of Poli, who had lost a quantity of silver in the waters of the harbour of Constantinople, entered into a contract with two men who undertook to recover it for him. In the contract, which was drawn up by the Genoese notary Simone de Albario, the two men declared that ‘if God should give us the fortune and the risk (*si Deus nobis daret fortunam et risicum*) to find and recuperate the said silver, the Armenian will owe them two-hundred gold hyperpers (13). In the context

(9) M. CHIAUDANO and M. MORESCO (eds.), *Il cartolare di Giovanni Scriba*, Turin, 1935, Doc. LXIX: « Professus est Bonus Iohannes Lercarius... se portare Buçeam de rebus Wilelmi Mallonis ad resicum et fortunam ipsius ». The term appears also in other acts of Scriba.

(10) H. and R. KAHANE, p. 280.

(11) For the 14th century, see my *Merchant Communities in Crisis: Changes in the Mood of Genoese and Venetian Merchants and Citizens, 1270-1400* (Unpubl. Diss., Yale University, 1969), pp. 91-96.

(12) DEVIC, op. cit., p. 195.

(13) G. I. BRATIANU, *Actes des notaires génois de Péra et de Caffa de la fin du treizième siècle (1281-1290)*, Bucarest, 1927, Doc. XXIX, p. 90. One may not rule out the possibility that the occurrence of *risicum* in this phrase is merely a slip-of-the-pen, inspired by the ha-

of this sentence, the meaning of *risicum* is clearly positive. Indeed, it comes close to that of *rizq* in a passage of the tenth-century *Kitāb 'Adjā'ib al-Hind* (Marvels of India) which has been already utilized by Devic; there, a man who finds a precious pearl in a fish he has acquired for his friend Sa'id, exclaims: 'This is a *rizq* which God sends to Sa'id' (14). Nor is Simone de Albario alone in his use of *risicum*. The anonymous Genoese poet who writes late in the thirteenth and early in the fourteenth century, uses the expression *aver reisego bon* (15) : again, it is evident that *reisego* – the form which *resicum/risicum* assumed in the Genoese dialect – could bear a positive significance at that time.

There remains, however, a further difficulty that seems to militate against a derivation of *risicum* from the Arabic. Phonologically, *rizq* may explain *risicum*, but it cannot account for the Provençal *rezegue* (16) or the Genoese *reisego*. This duality of *risicum/rezegue* is, incidentally, also one of the arguments against the derivation of *risicum* from *resecare* : the Latin verb may well account for *rezegue* and the affinitive forms, but not for *risicum*. To overcome this difficulty, von Wartburg suggests that, in Tuscany, *resecare* might have become **risicare* ; hence, *risicum* (17). From the linguistic point of view, this may be a plausible hypothesis, even though none of the instances of the Tuscan alteration of *e* into *i* which have been presented by Rohlfs (18) provides an exact parallel to the purported development of *resecare* into **risicare*. But once the historical context is taken into account, the hypothesis is hardly tenable. For *risicum* appears in a Venetian document as early as 1158. Consequently von Wartburg's hypothesis necessitates the implausible assumption that the Venetians borrowed this term from the Provençal or Ligurian West – via Tuscany ! – in, or before, the twelfth century.

bitual link, in other contracts, between *fortuna* and *risicum*. However, the probability that this was indeed the case is rather low, for in his other acts, Simone de Albario uses the phrase *ad risicum et fortunam*, not *ad fortunam et risicum*: cf. Doc. I, p. 73; XXIV, p. 87; XXXVII, p. 96; LXXX, p. 124; LXXXIII, p. 126; XCV, p. 134; CXI, p. 145; CXIII, p. 146; CXXXIII, p. 159.

(14) DEVIC, op. cit., p. 194; ID., *Livre des Merveilles de l'Inde*, Leiden, 1883-86, p. 97.

(15) N. LAGOMAGGIORE, *Rime genovesi della fine del secolo XIII e del principio del XIV*, in *Archivio glottologico italiano*, II (1876), 248 (= LXVI, 3). The phrase is listed by H. and R. KAHANE, as an example of the uses of *risicum*, on p. 280.

(16) This has been pointed out by ERNST GAMILLSCHEG, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der französischen Sprache*, Heidelberg, 1928, p. 768.

(17) v. WARTBURG, loc. cit.

(18) G. ROHLFS, *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti*, I, Turin, 1966, pp. 72-75.

- * Once more, a glance across the Mediterranean may provide a solution. Transcriptions of present-day colloquial Arabic reveal that the Egyptians, Palestinians and Iraqis say *rizq* (19), whereas in the Maghreb the word is pronounced as *rezq* (or *rezeg*) (20). Is it not, then, possible that the Venetians, whose ties with the Muslim East date from a very early period, adopted the *rizq*-like *risicum* (and in the dialect, *risego*) (21), while the Genoese and the Provençals, whose first contacts with Arabic-speaking people took probably place in North Africa, came to use forms that recall the North African pronunciation of the Arabic word (22)? This would not have been the last time for *rizq/risicum* to assume different forms according to the difference in the pronunciation of its transmitters: in modern Greece, the prevalence of the form *ρίζεγο* or *ρέζεγο* depends on the fact whether the region in question belonged, in the later Middle Ages, to the Venetian or Genoese sphere of influence (23).

(19) *A Dictionary of Iraqi Arabic: Arabic-English*, ed. D. R. WOODHEAD and W. BEENE, Washington, D. C., 1967, p. 186: *riziq*; M. LÖHR, *Der vulgärarabische Dialekt von Jerusalem*, Gieszen, 1905, p. 135: *rizq*; L. BAUER, *Wörterbuch des palästinischen Arabisch. Deutsch-Arabisch*, Leipzig-Jerusalem, 1933, p. 204: *rizk*; S. SPIRO, *An Arabic-English Vocabulary of the Colloquial Arabic of Egypt*, Cairo-London, 1895: *rizq*; W. H. T. GAIRDNER, *Egyptian Colloquial Arabic*, Cambridge, 1917, p. 277: *riz(q)*. On the other hand, according to A. BARTHÉLEMY, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français. Dialectes de Syrie : Alep, Damas, Liban, Jérusalem*, Paris, 1935, p. 277, the word is pronounced as *r̥z̥eq*, where *ə* is pronounced like *e* in the French *tournevis*.

(20) *A Dictionary of Moroccan Arabic: Arabic-English*, ed. R. S. HARREL, Washington, D.C., 1966, p. 130: *rezq*; G. BORIS, *Lexique du parler arabe des Marazig*, Paris, 1958, p. 210: *rézeg*, where *e* resembles to some extent the *i* of the English *bit*. The names *Rezkallah*, *Rezki*, *Rezzik*, *Rezzig*, which have been attested for Algeria and Tunisia (M. BEAUSSIER, *Dictionnaire pratique Arabe-Français, contenant tous les mots employés dans l'Arabe parlé en Algérie et en Tunisie*, New edition, Algiers, 1958, p. 394), seem also to point towards a pronunciation of *rizq* as *rezq*.

(21) G. BOERIO, *Dizionario del dialetto veneziano*, Venice, 1856², s.v.

(22) It is true that in later Genoese documents the *resicum* of Giovanni Scriba gives way to *risicum*. Perhaps this change reflects growing ties with the Muslim East.

(23) J. SCHMITT, *ρίζιχδν = risico*, in *Miscellanea linguistica in onore di Graziadio Ascoli*, Turin, 1902, p. 396 ff.; H. and R. KAHANE, p. 281.

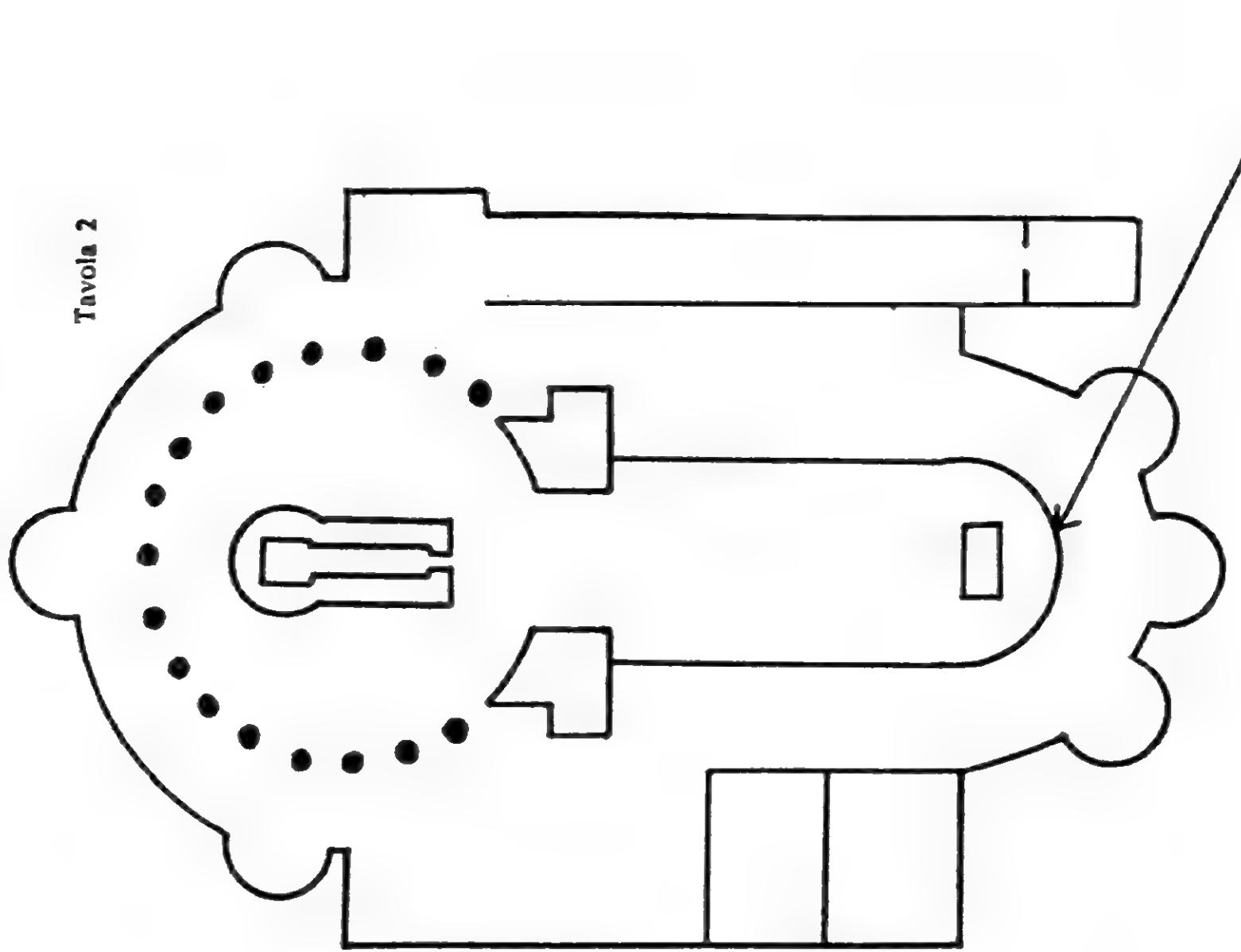
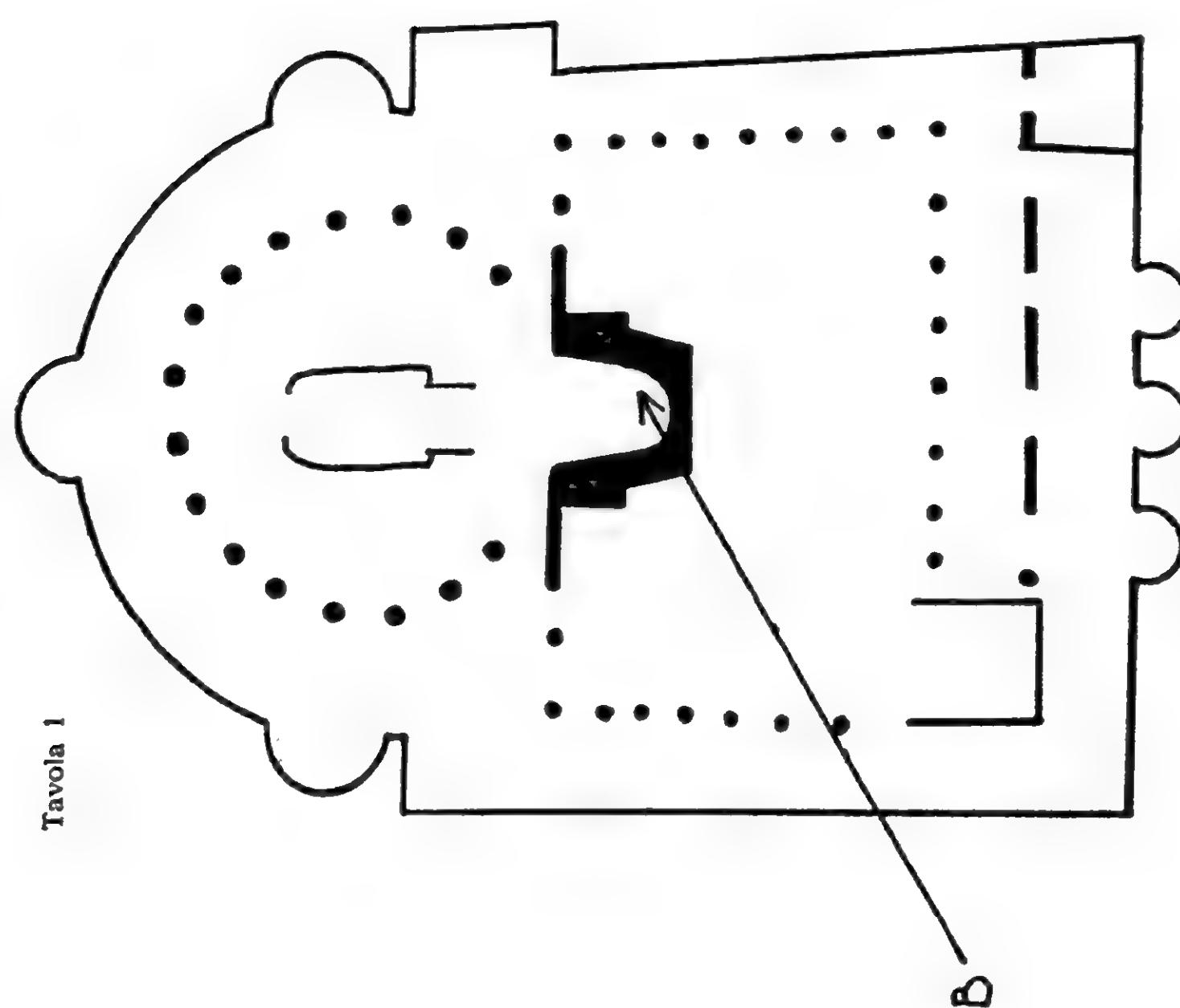
III

GENOA'S GOLDEN INSCRIPTION IN THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE: A CASE FOR THE DEFENCE

The golden inscription in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, * which recorded the share of the Genoese in the conquest of the Holy Land and enumerated the privileges which King Baldwin I of Jerusalem granted them, was destroyed in the 1160s on the orders of King Amalric I. Eight years ago, however, the golden inscription suffered a still more devastating destruction, when my friends Hans Eberhard Mayer and Marie-Luise Favreau (now Favreau-Lilie) published an article in which they claimed that the inscription had never existed and that the narrative source which mentions it, as well as the text of the inscription preserved in Genoa's archive, are forgeries — forgeries which were part of a vast Genoese plot aiming at the extrication of far-reaching privileges from the kings of Jerusalem. The two epigraphists further assert that the privilege which Baldwin I granted the Genoese in 1104 is yet another forgery by the perpetrators of the Genoese plot¹.

I shall first deal here with the arguments adduced by Mayer and Favreau to prove that the golden inscription had never existed. First, they assert that the sources state unequivocally that the inscription was placed in the choir of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. (See Arrow A in Plan). However, this choir was a new, crusader edifice, begun certainly after 1114, and still under construction in 1130. It is thus inconceivable, claim Mayer and Favreau, that the Genoese, after being purportedly permitted to place their inscription in the Church of the Holy

¹ H. E. MAYER and MARIE-LUISE FAVREAU, « Das Diplom Balduins I. für Genua und Genuas Goldene Inschrift in der Grabeskirche, » *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 55/56 (1976), 22-95; the golden inscription is dealt with on pp. 24-38.



The Church of the Holy Sepulchre as rebuilt in 1048 (after Couasnon)

The Crusader Church of the Holy Sepulchre

Sepulchre about the time of the conquest of Acre in 1104, should have waited so long before making use of that right.

Mayer and Favreau consider another possibility. At the time of the crusader conquest of Jerusalem, there existed in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, at the east end of the Rotunda, a large apse which served as a choir. (See Arrow B). The golden inscription might have been placed in this apse in 1105. But if this were the case, it would have been removed when the eastern apse was destroyed during the construction of the new, much larger crusader choir. After the completion of this new choir, the golden inscription might have been relocated there. Now Mayer and Favreau assume that the crusader choir was built from east to west, and hence the old eastern apse of the Rotunda must have been torn down toward the end of the construction process, in the early years of Baldwin III (that is, after his accession in 1143 and before the consecration of the crusader Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1149). This would imply that the re-installation of the inscription in the new crusader choir was authorised by Baldwin III. But, according to Caffaro's *Annales Ianuenses*, in 1155 the Genoese complained at the papal court that Baldwin III was curtailing their privileges. It is therefore highly improbable that Baldwin III would have authorised the re-installation in the crusader choir of the golden inscription which mentions the very privileges which he refused to honour. Moreover, if Baldwin III had permitted the re-installation of the inscription in the 1140s, the Genoese would have cited this as a re-confirmation of their privileges by Baldwin III when, in the 1160s, they accused King Amalric I, Baldwin's brother and successor, of having destroyed the inscription. The fact that the Genoese did not mention this, further leads Mayer and Favreau to doubt the inscription's authenticity.

However, several planks of this ingenious structure appear to be somewhat loose. For one thing, the purported relocation of the inscription could have been carried out in the closing years of the reign of King Fulk, Baldwin III's father and predecessor. Why must we assume that the old eastern apse was

torn down between 1143 and 1149 and not, say, in 1142 or earlier? All we know is that the consecration of the entire crusader church took place in 1149, and we assume, on rather questionable grounds, that it was built from east to west — but we do not know precisely when its various components (the choir, façade, etc.) were erected and completed. Also, if the relocation did take place in the early days of Baldwin III, why must we assume that already at that stage the king exhibited those anti-Genoese tendencies about which the Genoese were to complain a decade or more later? And why must we assume that the canons of the Sepulchre felt constrained to request royal permission before relocating the inscription from the old eastern apse to the choir of the new crusader church, that is, before moving the inscription a distance of some 25 metres?²

Moreover, can we be certain that the relocation to the new choir was carried out at all? Mayer and Favreau assert emphatically that « all the sources maintain that, until its destruction by Amalric I, the inscription was situated in the choir of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, more exactly in the new choir consecrated in 1149 »³. They adduce five sources: (1) Pope Alexander III's letter of 1167 (or 1169) where it is said that the golden inscription had been *in Templo*⁴, and (2) his letter of 1179 in which he states that it had been *in ecclesia*

² See the plans of the eleventh- and twelfth-century churches, based on recent excavations, in V.C. CORBO, *Il Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme*, 3 vols. (Jerusalem, 1981), 2: plates 4 and 6. For an earlier attempt see Ch. Coüasnon, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem* (London, 1974), plates IX and X.

³ MAYER and FAVREAU, p. 33.

⁴ *Codice diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova*, ed. C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, 3 vols. (Rome, 1936-42), 1:71, Doc. 27; the letter is re-edited in an appendix to the present article. The same expression appears in Alexander's letter to Patriarch Amalric of Jerusalem: *Codice diplomatico*, 1:72, Doc. 28.

*sancti Sepulcri*⁵. But these two statements do not specify at all the location of the inscription within the edifice. The next source is (3) Urban III's letter of 1186, which mentions that the inscription was removed *de circuitu altaris*⁶. This statement, too, is vague, since we do not know which of the many altars of the complex is referred to. Only two of the five sources are more specific: (4) Caffaro, who in his *De liberatione civitatum Orientis* writes that in 1105 Baldwin I ordered the inscription to be set up *in truina sepulcri*⁷; and (5) the anonymous Genoese author of the *Regni Iherosolymitani Brevis Historia* who, depending upon Caffaro's *De liberatione* for the early part of his chronicle and writing after 1197 as Mayer and Favreau convincingly show, states twice that the inscription was located *in triuna Sepulcri*⁸. Mayer and Favreau assert that *truina* and *triuna* are vernacular forms of *tribuna*, a term which sometimes refers to the pulpit, but usually to the apse or the choir. A pulpit cannot be meant here, they claim, since Urban III mentions the inscription's removal *de circuitu altaris*; therefore the inscription must have been located in the new crusader choir.

Thus of the five sources cited, only Caffaro and the dependent *Brevis Historia* can be taken to indicate the crusader choir — and even this hinges on the equation *truina/triuna = tribuna = choir*. But Mayer and Favreau themselves are not certain that *truina/triuna* necessarily refers to the crusader choir, for at one point they consider the possibility that the

⁵ *Codice diplomatico*, 2:252, Doc. 119.

⁶ *Codice diplomatico*, 2:303, Doc. 159.

⁷ CAFFARO, *De liberatione civitatum Orientis*, in *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori*, ed. L. T. Belgrano, 1 (Genoa, 1890), p. 121.

⁸ *Regni Iherosolymitani Brevis Historia*, ed. Belgrano in *Annali Genovesi*, 1, pp. 129, 135. For the dependence on Caffaro see Belgrano's introductory remarks, p. xciii; for the date see Mayer and Favreau, p. 26, note 11.

term might have referred to the large eastern apse of the eleventh-century Rotunda, which served as the church's choir in the early years of Frankish rule⁹.

Now there exists a sixth source, unutilized by Mayer and Favreau in this context, which clearly points to the eleventh-century Rotunda. In his charter of April 1192, permitting Genoa to re-instate the golden inscription, Conrad of Montferrat specifies « ut [comune Ianue] supra dominicum Sepulcrum litteras aureas quas olim habuit restauret si voluerit »¹⁰. This formulation evidently refers to a location above the Tomb, that is, within the Rotunda. One possibility would be an arch of the Rotunda — and we may note in passing that Giorgio Stella, writing about 1400, states that « in muro arcus supra altare templi prelibati sancti sepulcri litteris aureis scriptum fuit: "Prepotens Ianuense presidium" »¹¹. Another possibility is the gallery of the Rotunda which, with its recently discovered eleventh-century Cosmati mosaics, formed an important part of the edifice that the crusaders encountered after the conquest of Jerusalem¹². Moreover, al-Idrīsī's description of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre strongly implies that a western gate led straight into the gallery, but that it was impossible to descend thence to the Tomb¹³. Consequently, the location of the golden inscription in the gallery of the Rotunda would have placed

⁹ MAYER and FAVREAU, p. 32.

¹⁰ *Codice diplomatico*, 3:49, Doc. 19.

¹¹ *Georgii Stellae Annales Genuenses*, ed. Giovanna Petti Balbi (1975), in RIS NS 17,2:32. Agostino Giustiniani translates, « su l'arco dell'altare del santo sepolchro: » *Annali* (Genoa, 1537), pp. 33. See also L. T. BELGRANO and C. MALAGOLA, « Prepotens Genuensium presidium », *Giornale Liguistico* 17 (1890), 302-06, for the late and unfounded Bolognese tradition according to which the inscription as well as other sculptures were executed by the Bolognese brothers Renghiero and Roberto Renghieri. (Virgilio Corbo still accepts this tradition as a fact: *Il Santo Sepolcro*, 1:198-99, 3:178-79).

¹² For the mosaics see Corbo, *Il Santo Sepolcro*, 1:156-59, 3:136-40.

¹³ *La Géographie d'Edrisi*, trans. P.-A. Jaubert, 1 (Paris, 1836), 342.

it within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but at a point from which the holiest part of the shrine was not directly accessible — possibly a compromise between the Genoese wish to have their mundane inscription within the church and the opposition of some clerics to having it there.

While Conrad of Montferrat's charter of 1192 unmistakably places the inscription in the Rotunda, there is reason to doubt the validity of the equation *truina* = *tribuna* = choir, which constitutes the sole ground for locating the inscription in the new crusader choir. The term *truina* appears in only one other source: the *Chronicon Estense* which reports under the year 1341 that « in his diebus completa fuit truyna episcopatus Sancti Georgii de Ferraria, et laborerium ystorie sancti Petri, et pilastrum Virginis Marie in dicto episcopatu »¹⁴. Du Cange, evidently baffled by the term *truyna*, did not offer a solution and merely asked, « An *Struina*, aedificium, domus, ab Ital. *Struire*, construere? »¹⁵ Giulio Bertoni, who in 1907 devoted a footnote to this term, concluded with the remark, « che cosa veramente sia questa *truyna* non saprei dire, a meno che non si tratti d'una cappella »¹⁶. Thirty years later, in his critical edition of the *Chronicon Estense*, Bertoni was more definite and remarked, without giving his reasons, « *Truyna* pare significhi null'altro che l'abside della chiesa »¹⁷. Apparently he had come upon Meyer-Lübke's (unsubstantiated) assertion that the

For a description and a photograph of the western entrance see Corbo, *Il Santo Sepolcro*, 1:155, 3:133.

¹⁴ *Chronicon Estense*, ed. G. Bertoni and E.P. Vicini (1937), in RIS NS 15,3: 111.

¹⁵ DU CANGE, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, s. v. *truyna*.

¹⁶ G. BERTONI, « L'iscrizione ferrarese del 1135, » *Studi medievali* 2 (1906-07), 482, note 1. Bertoni quotes inter alia Matteo de Griffonibus who writes, under the year 1361, « quidam de Papaçonibus fecit poni unum lapidem marmoreum in medio *trunae* supra altare cum figura sculpita s. Michaelis: » *Memoriale historicum de rebus Bononensium*, ed. L. Frati and A. Sorbelli (1902), in RIS NS 18,2: 65.

¹⁷ *Chronicon Estense*, p. 111, note 5.

term constitutes the Old Genoese and Old Ferrarese form of *tribuna* in the sense of "apse of a Christian church"¹⁸.

But even if one accepts the equation *truina* = *tribuna* = apse, the new crusader choir's apse must be excluded as the location of the golden inscription, for it is not located *supra dominicum Sepulcrum*. The large eastern apse of the eleventh-century Rotunda is a possible location, but not the only one, since the Rotunda has three other apses, at least two of which were paved with Cosmati floors¹⁹. One may easily visualize altars standing in front of these decorated apses^{19 a} and the golden inscription inserted in one of them. Furthermore, it is possible that *truina* = *tribuna* does not mean "apse" but "gallery", as

¹⁸ W. MEYER-LÜBKE, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 3rd ed. (Heidelberg, 1935), no. 8888: *tribuna* - agen. aferr. *truina*. P. A. FARRE, *Postille italiane al Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch di W. Meyer-Lübke*, Memorie dell'Istituto Lombardo. Accademia di scienze e lettere. Classe di lettere, scienze morali e storiche, 32 (Milan, 1972), no. 8888: *tribuna* - aferr. *truyna*.

¹⁹ CORBO, *Il Santo Sepolcro*, 1:147, 3:153-54. One may note in passing that Fra Niccolò da Poggibonsi, who visited Jerusalem in 1347, mentions no less than three *tribune* within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre: (a) "una tribuna lavorata d'opera musaica" in the Chapel of St. Mary Magdalén northnortheast of the Rotunda; he adds that "dalla parte ritta dell'altare della tribuna... è una parte della colonna, alla quale il nostro Signore fu legato." (b) "una piccola trebuna (sic)" just to the south of the said chapel; it is there that Jesus said to the Magdalén, "Noli me tangere." (c) "la tribuna molto bella e grande, levata in su colonne da piede" in front of the high altar of the crusader church. Fra Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d'Oltremare* (1346-50), ed. B. Bagatti (Jerusalem, 1945), pp. 19, 20, 21. In their English translation of Fra Niccolò's *Libro*, T. Bellorini and E. Hoade consistently render "tribuna" ("trebuna") with "apse:" *A Voyage Beyond the Seas* (1346-50) (Jerusalem, 1945), pp. 16-18; but for T.S.R. Boase the last-mentioned *tribuna* is "presumably the choir screen:" «Ecclesiastical Art in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria,» in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton, 4 (Madison, Wisconsin, 1977), 118.

^{19 a} An act of 1102 (or 1103) mentions two altars, the one *in choro*, the other *ad capud Sepulcri*: *Le Cartulaire du Chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, ed. Geneviève Bresc-Bautier (Paris, 1984), p. 73, Doc. 19.

tribuna is known to have borne this meaning in later periods²⁰.

Now, if the golden inscription was situated somewhere in the Rotunda but not necessarily in its large eastern apse, there is a strong possibility that the inscription was not relocated at all, for with the exception of its eastern apse, the Rotunda was not affected by the erection of the new crusader edifice.

Let us now turn more briefly to the other arguments put forward by Mayer and Favreau. The weightiest of these concerns the text of the inscription. The two scholars claim that it is inconceivable that King Baldwin I, the energetic ruler who established the boundaries of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, should have permitted the insertion, in the main church of the realm, of an inscription which presents the Genoese as the true founders of the kingdom, who took the lead in the conquest of Jerusalem and Antioch, conquered Acre, and added Caesarea and Arsuf to the kingdom. It is equally inconceivable, maintain Mayer and Favreau, that Baldwin should have granted the Genoese one third of Caesarea, Arsuf and Acre.

To be sure, such a partisan description of the foundation of Frankish Outremer, and the grant of such extensive privileges, especially in Acre, must have been a bitter pill for the king, but did he really have a choice at the time? In 1100 Baldwin's brother and predecessor, Godfrey of Bouillon, attempted to take Arsuf with his own forces, but failed; a year later, Baldwin took it — with the help of a Genoese fleet. In

²⁰ Oscar Bloch claims that the term *tribune* appears in French about 1231 in the sense of "gallery of a church", but he brings no proof: O. BLOCH, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française*, 2 (Paris, 1932), 342; cf. W. von WARTBURG, *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 13, 1 (Basel, 1966), p. 255, note 3. The earliest definite evidence for the use of the French term in this sense dates from 1409: F. GODEFROY, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du XI^e au XV^e siècle*, 10 (Paris, 1938), 808; von Wartburg, *ibid.*, p. 254. As Bloch maintains (loc. cit.) that the term entered French from the Italian, it must have been used in this sense in Italian at an earlier date.

1103 Baldwin attempted to take Acre with his own forces, but failed; a year later he took it — with the help of a Genoese fleet. After the conquest of Acre, Baldwin continued to depend on Genoese cooperation: in 1109 he called on the Genoese to help him in the conquest of Ascalon, Beirut and Sidon, and in that year they stormed Tripoli. All these facts are known from non-Genoese sources whose reliability has not been questioned²¹.

Now, if Genoese assistance was so vital to Baldwin and indispensable to the conquest of the Syro-Palestinian harbours, is it really so astonishing that Baldwin felt constrained to let the Genoese set up an inscription which exaggerates their role, and to grant them extensive privileges? Fulcher of Chartres relates that in 1101, before the Frankish-Genoese attack on the small towns of Arsur and Caesarea, Baldwin promised the Genoese a quarter in every city captured, as well as one third of the booty²². Is it surprising that, in 1104, before a considerably stronger fleet consented to attack the much more important town of Acre²³, Baldwin had to promise the Genoese much more than he had three years earlier?²⁴ Indeed, it would not have been the last time in that century that a monarch was to offer extravagant grants to the Genoese in order to procure their naval assistance. When Emperor Henry VI needed

²¹ Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), pp. 393-400, 456-57, 462-64, 531, 533; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, RHC Oc. 4: 507-11, 542, 601-02, 606-07, 668.

²² Fulcher of Chartres, p. 397.

²³ In his *Annales*, Caffaro writes that the fleet of 1101 consisted of 26 galleys and 6 ships, while that of 1104 consisted of 40 galleys: *Annales Ianuenses*, pp. 5, 13. In *De liberatione* the figures are 26 galleys and 4 ships for the first fleet, 40 galleys for the second: *ibid.*, pp. 112, 121. Fulcher of Chartres writes (p. 462) that 70 vessels took part in the attack on Acre.

²⁴ It is true that Fulcher does not mention the privilege of 1104, but one should not argue here *ex silentio*, inasmuch as Fulcher does not mention even such a crucial event as the Council of Nablus in 1120.

the help of the Genoese in the conquest of Sicily, he formally promised to grant them the city of Syracuse, a vast stretch of land in the Val di Noto, and much more — only to renege on his promise immediately after the conquest²⁵.

The fact that the golden inscription mentions Daimbert as patriarch at the time of the conquest of Acre in 1104 has also aroused the suspicions of Mayer and Favreau. They stress the animosity of King Baldwin, as well as of Evremar and Arnulf of Chocques, toward Daimbert, and argue that it is unthinkable that they should have admitted into the Church of the Holy Sepulchre an inscription which names their foe Daimbert as patriarch at the time of the conquest of Acre. Also, since Daimbert was deposed in 1102 and re-instated in March 1105, the inscription could have been installed only after that date if at all. My rejoinder is that Caffaro expressly relates that the inscription was placed in the Sepulchre in the year 1105²⁶. Evidently the Genoese interpreted Daimbert's re-instatement by Paschal II in March 1105 as being tantamount to a cancellation of his deposition in 1102, and therefore they regarded him as having been the lawful patriarch at the time of the conquest of Acre in 1104. Also, it is possible that Pisans took part in that conquest. Albert of Aachen's crediting the Pisans and the Genoese with the conquest²⁷ may be suspect, since Albert repeatedly mentions Pisans and Genoese in one breath, yet the inclusion of the *domus Gandolfi pisani filii Fiopie* among the beneficiaries of the privilege which Baldwin I granted the Genoese in 1104 makes some Pisan participation plausible²⁸. Thus

²⁵ *Otoboni Scribae Annales Ianuenses*, ed. L. T. Belgrano and C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, in *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori*, 2 (Rome, 1901), 39, 45-46, 51-53. I would like to thank Professor Geo Pistarino for having drawn my attention to this parallel.

²⁶ *De liberatione*, p. 122.

²⁷ Albert of Aachen, pp. 606-07; see also RHC Oc. 3:537.

²⁸ *Codice diplomatico*, 1:21, Doc. 15. I would like to thank Dr. Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie for having drawn my attention to this detail.

it was perhaps also due to Pisan influence that Daimbert, a Pisan, figures in the golden inscription as patriarch of Jerusalem.

In the inscription, the phrase claiming that the Genoese *Cesaream vero et Arsur Ierosolimitano imperio addiderunt* strikes Mayer and Favreau as suspect, since the Kingdom of Jerusalem was so pitifully small at the time. They point out that Fulcher of Chartres employs the self-same expression when he writes that Baldwin I *terras Arabum . . . addidit imperio*, and suggest that Fulcher's phrase might have inspired the Genoese forgers. But would it not be simpler to regard Fulcher's usage as proof that there is nothing extraordinary about the appearance of the phrase in the golden inscription? Besides, *imperium* did not necessarily mean "Empire"; it could have referred to rule over a lesser entity, such as a principality²⁹.

Mayer and Favreau also argue that in light of the fact that Alexander III writes in his letters of 1167 (or 1169) and 1179 that King Amalric destroyed the inscription, while Urban III, in his letter of 1186, attributes the destruction to the canons of the Sepulchre, it would appear that the inscription was destroyed twice, once by the king and once by the canons. I believe that it is simpler to assume that the inscription was destroyed only once, after an order emanating from the king entrusted its execution to the canons. Only after Pope Alexander failed to persuade King Amalric and his son Baldwin IV to restore the inscription, did the Genoese choose to blame the canons, on the assumption that the pope had more leverage with them.

Mayer and Favreau also point out that, according to the *Brevis Historia*, the inscription cost 2,000 besants, an enormous sum; but we should bear in mind that only the *Brevis Historia*, written about a century after the event, not the contemporary Caffaro, mentions this detail.

²⁹ Cf. J. NIERMEYER, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon minus*, s.v. *imperium*-4, for a Norman example of 1066.

* * *

Having dealt with the arguments against the authenticity of the golden inscription, let us adopt now a different approach and assume for the moment that the epigrapheclasts are right: the golden inscription never existed; the copy of its text preserved in Genoa's archive is a forgery as is Baldwin's charter of 1104; and Caffaro's account in *De liberatione* is a deliberate fabrication aimed at making the above forgeries credible. It is a breath-taking construction, but it has an internal logic. The difficulty begins with the next step, which Mayer and Favreau did not take. For if we accept their argument, we must assume that the Genoese, knowing perfectly well that there had never been a golden inscription in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, had the impudence to appear at Alexander III's court and there accuse King Amalric of having destroyed their inscription within the past six years³⁰. Is it plausible that the Genoese should have embarked on such a dangerous course? True, the Genoese were, as Geo Pistarino has recently shown, fervent supporters of Alexander III and received from him important privileges³¹ — but Amalric, too, maintained friendly relations with him³². True, the Genoese might have relied on their forged documents, but surely they must have foreseen that Amalric would emphatically deny the inscription's existence and produce any number of witnesses — clerics and laymen in Jerusalem, returned pilgrims and possibly even erstwhile legates in Europe — who would swear that such an inscription had never existed. Must not the Genoese have feared that this

³⁰ After 1163, the year of Amalric's accession, and before 1169, the latest date for Alexander's letter to him.

³¹ G. PISTARINO, « Genova, Alessandria e papa Alessandro III, » *Miscellanea di studi storici*, 2, *Fonti e Studi*, 38 (Genoa, 1983), pp. 31-52.

³² See for instance the letters printed in A. Bernard and A. Bruel, eds., *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, 5 (Paris, 1894), nos. 4234, 4237, pp. 586-87, 590-91.

easily predictable move by Amalric would lead the pope, at the least, to initiate proceedings in which their audacious plot could have been quite easily exposed?

But it is well-nigh certain that Amalric did not take this step, nor did Alexander initiate an inquiry. When Alexander writes to Baldwin IV, Amalric's successor, on the issue of the inscription, he does not mention a denial by Amalric or an inquiry into the matter. As he did a decade earlier, Alexander merely mentions the fact that Amalric had destroyed the inscription. Urban III, writing in March 1186 to Patriarch Eraclius of Jerusalem, also takes the inscription's destruction for a fact; the one doubt he harbours relates to the question whether or not it was destroyed by the canons of the Sepulchre³³. To my mind it is clear that neither Amalric nor Baldwin IV contested the charge that the inscription had been destroyed.

* * *

Let me conclude with a different, admittedly more conservative reconstruction of the events. Baldwin I granted the Genoese their privileges and allowed them to place their inscription in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre because he was critically dependent on their help. Half a century later, Frankish Outremer had become a much stronger entity, and all the harbours of the Syro-Palestinian coast were firmly in Frankish hands; various Italian and some non-Italian cities could be relied upon to maintain the maritime link with Europe. Under these circumstances, the kings of Jerusalem attempted to curtail the original, extensive privileges of the Genoese and of other Italians. In 1155 the Genoese envoy Maimfred complains at the papal court that Baldwin III of Jerusalem, the count of Tripoli, and the prince of Antioch constantly whittle away

³³ *Codice diplomatico*, 2:304, Doc. 160.

the *iusticia Ianuensium* which their predecessors had granted³⁴. And indeed Baldwin III's successor, Amalric, as well as other later lords of Outremer attempted to limit the old privileges only to those Italian merchants who came to the kingdom on business, while endeavouring to cancel the right to extra-territorial jurisdiction of Italians who settled in the kingdom and acquired land there. In 1168 Amalric applied this distinction to the Pisans. About the same time, Manuel Comnenus introduced a similar distinction with regard to Venetians in Byzantium, though it is not clear whether Amalric influenced the Byzantines, or vice versa³⁵. In any case, Amalric's distinction between resident and non-resident Pisans, and his order to destroy Genoa's golden inscription, may be regarded as facets of a royal policy which goes back at least to the 1150s.

The Genoese engaged the popes on their side and the papal letters to Jerusalem clearly aimed at putting an end to the royal infringements. In the fall of 1155 Hadrian IV wrote to Baldwin III to let the Genoese enjoy their rights. The count of Tripoli and the prince of Antioch were ordered to do likewise, under pain of excommunication³⁶. A decade later Alexander III wrote to Amalric that the Genoese were afraid of losing their rights as a result of the destruction of the golden inscription, and ordered him to preserve their rights in their entirety³⁷. Yet the rulers of Outremer stuck to their policy. Consequently, in 1176 when William of Montferrat passed through Genoa on his way to Jerusalem, where he was to marry Princess Sybil

³⁴ CAFFARO, *Annales Ianuenses*, pp. 43-44.

³⁵ Cf. J. PRAWER, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 244-45. Resentment against the privileged Italians may be discerned in an anonymous description of the Kingdom of Jerusalem probably dating from the late twelfth century. [The relevant passage is quoted in note 6 of Sylvia Schein's contribution to the present volume.]

³⁶ CAFFARO, *Annales Ianuenses*, pp. 44-45.

³⁷ *Codice diplomatico*, 2:71, Doc. 27, and the appendix to the present article; see also 2:72-73, Doc. 28.

and become the heir apparent to the throne, he promised the Genoese to do his best to help them keep their possessions and rights in Outremer and to recoup those they had lost³⁸.

As Belgrano had observed as far back as 1890, the Genoese tried to bolster their case in 1155 with an early version of Caffaro's *De liberatione*, which certainly exaggerates the Genoese role in the establishment of the Kingdom of Jerusalem³⁹. It is also possible that when the Genoese came to present at the papal court the text of their destroyed inscription, they incorporated some flattering modifications. Indeed, they might also have tampered with the text of the charter which Baldwin I had granted them. But this largely conjectured Genoese activity should be seen as a reaction to the policy of the rulers of Outremer curtailing the privileges of the Genoese and of other Italians.

Alexander III in 1179 and Urban III in 1186 again ordered the repeal of the infringements of Genoese rights⁴⁰. All to no avail. It was only in 1192, when the rump kingdom was again critically dependent on outside help, that Conrad of Montferrat — whom the Genoese supported in his struggle for the throne — reconfirmed the Genoese in their rights and allowed them to restore their golden inscription *supra dominicum Sepulcrum*.

Appendix: *Alexander III's letter to King Amalric.*

Pope Alexander III's letter of 12 October 1167 (or 1169), in which he calls upon King Amalric of Jerusalem to restore Genoa's golden inscription, is edited in *Codice diplomatico* 2:71 from a copy in a codex. However, in Genoa's Biblioteca Universitaria there is a parchment containing the letter only.

³⁸ *Codice diplomatico*, 2:235, Doc. 105.

³⁹ *Annali Genovesi*, 1, pp. xciv-xcvi.

⁴⁰ *Codice diplomatico*, 2:252, 302-04, Docs. 119, 159-60.

Paul Riant bought this parchment at a Paris auction and donated it to the Biblioteca Universitaria. Shortly afterwards the editors of *Giornale Ligustico* published the text in the 1883 issue of their review⁴¹. In the early years of the present century, Paul Kehr could see the parchment in the Biblioteca Universitaria; at that time it bore the shelf-mark X. 12⁴². However, in the 1930s, Cesare Imperiale could not locate it there⁴³. At present, the parchment can be consulted in the Biblioteca Universitaria under a different shelf-mark. The parchment's dimensions are 13.9 x 20.0 centimetres; on its back appear the words:

Illustri Ier[oso] limorum
regi
pro Ianuen. [sibus]

The editors of *Giornale Ligustico* believed that the parchment contains Alexander's original letter and that it had once belonged to Genoa's *Archivio secreto*. But why should an original papal letter to a king of Jerusalem make its way to a Genoese archive? It is more plausible to assume that the parchment contains a Genoese copy of the papal letter; the spelling *dextinctione* suggests that the copy was executed by a Genoese scribe.

Since the letter was transcribed rather carelessly in 1883, and differs at several points from the text printed in *Codice diplomatico*, a re-edition is offered here.

⁴¹ «Due bolle pontificie,» *Giornale Ligustico* 10 (1883), 161-65, with the letter edited on p. 164.

⁴² P. KEHR, «Papsturkunden in Mailand - Lombardei - Ligurien,» *Nachrichten der kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Phil.-Hist. Klasse* 1902, p. 177.

⁴³ *Codice diplomatico* 2:70; see also Mayer and Favreau, p. 27, note 15.

*Genoa, Biblioteca Universitaria. Manoscritti, scatola D. VIII. 1,
no. 5.*

Alexander episcopus servus servorum Dei. Karissimo in Christo filio, A. illustri Ierosolimorum regi, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Dilecti filii nostri Ianuenses cives transmissa nobis significatione monstrarunt, quod cum ius et consuetudines quas in regno tuo habere debebant ad perpetuam memoriam futurorum in Templo litteris aureis scripte fuissent, tu eas inde deleri fecisti. Illi vero timentes, sicut poterant de iure timere, ne ex destructione litterarum illarum ius suum et consuetudines deperirent, a nobis cum instantia postularunt ut super hoc regie celsitudini scriberemus. Nos autem eorumdem civium instanti postulatione devicti et consideratione gratissime devotionis et multiplicis obsequii, quod nobis in urgentis necessitatis articulo oportune satis et fideliter impenderunt, nichilominus inclinati, volentes honori et exaltationi tue et regni tui commodis studio totius attentionis intendere, et incrementa que eidem regno iam ex eorum labore et industria provenierunt et potissimum amodo provenire poterunt attentes, excellentiam tuam per apostolica scripta monemus hortamur atque consulimus, quatinus memoratas litteras aureas prudentia regie discretionis reformari faciat et iura et consuetudines quas predicti cives in regno tuo habuisse noscuntur, integras eis et illesas conservet, ne occasione ista inter te et ipsos scandalum possit alicuius dissensionis emergere, et tu eorum obsequium et devotionem ammittas, quod tibi et regno tuo fore credimus valde dampnosum.

Datum Beneventi IIII Idus Octubris.

The present paper was prepared during my stay at the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, in 1983-84.

GERARD OF NAZARETH
A NEGLECTED TWELFTH-CENTURY WRITER
IN THE LATIN EAST

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE
INTELLECTUAL AND MONASTIC HISTORY
OF THE CRUSADE STATES*

Few factual narratives were written in Crusader Outremer during its first sixty years. They include one full-length chronicle, that of Fulcher of Chartres—later of Jerusalem—which starts with the First Crusade and describes the history of the Crusading Kingdom down to 1127. Three shorter narratives survive as well: the *Gesta Tancredi* by Raoul of Caen—later of Antioch—which stops abruptly with the siege of Apamea in 1105; the *Bella Antiochena* by Chancellor Walter of Antioch, covering the years 1114–1122; and a brief anonymous compilation, written in Jerusalem in 1145–1146 under the auspices of King Baldwin III, which merely recapitulates earlier chronicles and concludes with the year 1123.¹ However, no firsthand account survives for the period between 1127—the year with which Fulcher's chronicle stops—and 1165, when William of Tyre's *Historia* starts to reflect personal observations. It is therefore of some import to draw attention to remnants of narratives written in the Crusader East in the mid-twelfth century; that is, precisely during the span of time no longer cov-

ered by Fulcher and not yet witnessed by William. These remnants focus on Latin eremitism in the early days of Outremer, a subject about which very little is known. The author of these works, Gerard of Nazareth—bishop of Laodicea by 1140—also wrote two polemics and a sermon and ought to be considered a major literary figure of the Latin East of his day. He definitely overshadows, by versatility and output, his contemporaries Stephen of Antioch, who in 1127 rendered into Latin the *Kitāb al-Maliki* by the tenth-century medical writer 'Alī b. al-'Abbās and hoped to translate some philosophical works as well; Prior Achard of the Temple in Jerusalem, who wrote the poem *Super templo Domini* some time before his death in 1137 or 1138; Achard's successor Geoffrey, who continued that work; Rorgo Fretellus of Nazareth, who left a description of the Holy Land; and Archdeacon Almerich of Antioch, who translated parts of the Old Testament into Castilian and added to them some historico-geographical details.² Nevertheless, modern historians of the crusades have not yet uti-

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¹Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913); Raoul of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Occidentaux* (hereafter cited as RHC HOCC), III (Paris, 1856), 603–716; Walter the Chancellor, *Bella Antiochena*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck, 1896); *Baldwini III Historia Nicaena vel Antiochena*, in RHC HOCC, V (Paris, 1895), 139–85.

²C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), 131–35 (Stephen of Antioch); P. Lehmann, "Die mittellateinischen Dichtungen der Prioren des Tempels von Jerusalem Acardus und Gaufridus," in *Corona quernea. Festgabe Karl Strecker zum 80. Geburtstag dargebracht*, MGH Schr., VI (Leipzig, 1941), 296–330; P. C. Boeren, ed., *Rorgo Fretellus de Nazareth et sa description de la Terre Sainte. Histoire et édition du texte*, Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde, Verhandelingen Nieuwe Reeks, deel CV (Amsterdam, 1980); Almerich, *Fazienda de Ultra Mar. Biblia Romanceada et Itinéraire Biblique en prose castillane du XII^e siècle*, ed. M. Lazar (Salamanca, 1965).

TRANS

lized the extant remnants of Gerard's narratives and polemics, and have virtually ignored his literary activity.

The titles of Gerard's works are:

1. *De conversatione virorum Dei in Terra Sancta morantum, ad Guillermum presbyterum*, or: *De conversatione servorum Dei*. (This was a considerable work, with at least 39 chapters.)
2. *Vita abbatis Elie*.
3. *De una Magdalena contra Grecos*.
4. *Contra Salam presbyterum* (or: *Contra Salam Temporarium*).
5. *Ad ancillas Dei apud Bethaniam*.

These tracts have presumably been lost, but a passage of *De conversatione* and extensive summa-

ries of the first four tracts are extant because of the interest shown by Carmelite writers of the late Middle Ages and by the Magdeburg Centuriators of the mid-sixteenth century. Under these circumstances, gauging the reliability of the Carmelite and Magdeburgian transmitters must precede discussion of the tracts' contents.

I

Philip Ribot, master of theology and Carmelite Provincial of Catalonia, quotes the following passage while expounding the nature of anchoritism in his *De institutione et peculiaribus gestis religiosorum Carmelitarum* of 1370:

* *Gerardus^a episcopus Laodicensis^b in libro de conuersacione virorum Dei in Terra Sancta morancium^c ad Guillermum^d presbiterum:*

Aliud est genus religiosorum qui sigillatum^e habitant a seculi rebus alienis^f quod laudabile semper^g fuit. Huius sunt qui^h ad exemplum Helyeⁱ silencium solitudinis preferunt tumultibus ciuitatis. Amant enim secretam contemplacionem deitatis.^k Unde et^l David a seculi molestiis^m in solitudinem fugiens elongabat.ⁿ In terra, inquit, deserta, inuia et inaquosa, sic in sancto apparui tibi ut uidere uirtutem tuam et gloriam tuam^o [Ps. 62:3]. Hanc quippe^p gloriam Moyses in deserto, hanc tandem Helyas^q in solitudine quesierunt uidere. Hinc et^r Salvator in monte seorsum^s a turbis inter Moysem^t et Helyam^u gloriosus^v effulxit.^z

R - Rome, Archivio Generale dei Carmelitani, Collegio Sant'Alberto, MS II.C.O.II. 35 (sec. XV), fol. 196^r.

T - Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 155^o/1237 (sec. XV), fol. 253^r-254^v.

M - Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 471 (a.1485), fol. 110^r-110^v.

* Gerhardus TM ^b Leo ducus T ^c commorantium M ^d Guillermum T Guilhelnum M ^e sigillatum R singillatum M ^f alieni om. M ^g semper laudabile M ^h Hi M ⁱ qui om. TM ^j Helie TM ^k diuinitatis T ^l et om. T ^m molestis R molestiis seculi M ⁿ fugiens se a tumultibus populi elongabat M ^o apparui tibi etc. Ps. 62^o M ^p enim M ^q in deserto et Helias M ^r et om. M ^s sursum M ^t Moysem T ^u Heliam M ^v effulssit R

Is this passage genuine? Ribot's compilation contains undoubtedly spurious works, like the *Institutio primorum monachorum*, which claim to prove the antiquity of monasticism on Mount Carmel.⁴ However, the passage from Gerard's *De conversatione*, which appears in a general discourse on the nature of anchoritism, is not presented as referring to the Carmelites, is not commented upon by Ribot, and does not contain anything tendentious or otherwise suspect. Immediately after, Ribot quotes similar passages on anchoritism from the works of Cassian and Isidore of Seville. A comparison of these quotations with their critically edited counterparts provides a yardstick to measure Ribot's fidelity to his sources:

Johannis Cassiani Collationes, XVIII.6, ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL, 13 (Vienna, 1886), 511-12.

Ribot, *De institutione*, III.8

R - fol. 196^r-196^v

T - fol. 254^r

M - fol. 110^v

Cassianus in libro collacionum patrum^a capitulo sexto collacionis

^aThe passage as edited above differs but slightly from the versions printed in *Speculum ordinis Fratrum Carmelitarum* (Venice, 1507), 14b-15a and in the more readily accessible *Speculum Carmelitanum*, ed. Daniel a Virgine Maria, I (Antwerp, 1680), 36b, no. 131. I was not able to consult MSS Arsenal 779 (sec. XIV), Clermont-Ferrand 156 (sec. XIV), Semur 28 (sec. XV), and London, Lambeth 192, which—according to François de

Sainte-Marie, *Les plus vieux textes du Carmel* (2nd ed., Paris, 1961), 184, note 2—also contain Ribot's work.

^bCf. C. Cicconetti, *La regola del Carmelo. Origine - natura - significato* (Rome, 1973), 93-95, 96-97, 184, 214, 466, *et passim*; J. Smet, *The Carmelites. A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel* (Rome, 1975), 64.

De hoc perfectorum numero et
ut ita dixerim secundissima radice
sanctorum etiam anachoretarum post haec
flores fructusque prolati sunt. cuius
professionis principes hos quos paulo
ante commemorauiimus, sanctum scilicet
Paulum uel Antonium, nouimus extitisse:
qui non ut quidam pusillanimitatis
causa nec inpatientiae morbo, sed
desiderio sublimioris profectus
contemplationisque diuinae solitudinis
secreta sectati sunt, licet eorum prior
necessitatis obtentu, dum tempore
persecutionis ad finium suorum deuitat
insidias, heremum penetrasse dicatur.
Ita ergo processit ex illa qua diximus
disciplina aliud perfectionis
genus, cuius sectatores anachoretae id est
secessores merito nuncupantur, eo quod
nequaquam contenti hac victoria, qua
inter homines occultas insidias diaboli
calcauerunt, aperto certamine ac
manifesto conflictu daemonibus congregati
cupientes uastos heremis recessus
penetrare non timeant. . . .

decime octauae.^b
De perfectorum *cenobitarum* uero et^c
ut ita dixerim secundissima^d radice
sanctorum etiam anachoritarum post hec
flores fructusque prolati sunt. Cuius
professionis principes
sanctum scilicet
Paulum uel Antonium^e nouimus extitisse.
Qui
desiderio sublimioris profectus
contemplacionisque diuine solitudinis
secreta sectati sunt.

Ita ergo processit^f ex illa qua diximus
disciplina^g *cenobitarum* aliud perfectionis
genus, cuius sectatores anachorite id est
secessores^h merito nuncupantur, eo quod
nequaquam contenti hac victoria,ⁱ qua
inter homines occultas insidias dyaboli^j
calcauerunt, *sed aperto*^k certamine ac
manifesto conflictu demonibus^l congregati
cupientes uastos heremis *secessus*^m
penetrare non timeant. . . .

^a fratrum T ^b collacione decima octaua
capitulo sexto M ca^o VIII^o collacionis
XVIII R ^c et om. M ^d dixerint
secundissima R ^e scil. sanctum Paulum et
Anthonium M ^f ita ergo procedit T
itaque processit M ^g disciplina R
^h secessores R ⁱ ac vitoria R
^j diaboli R ^k apperto T ^l a demonibus R
^m recessus T

Here, as well as in the passages quoted from Isidore of Seville's works,⁵ Ribot occasionally skips a subordinate clause and apparently takes some liberty with the wording; but basically he copies his source faithfully. It is plausible to assume that his quotation from *De conversatione* transmits fairly accurately Gerard's original formulation as well.

Three other Carmelite authors—the German John of Hildesheim (d. 1375), the Catalan Bernard Oller (fl. 1378), and the Englishman Thomas Scrope (d. 1491)—also quote the first sentence of the above-mentioned passage of Gerard's *De conversatione*. John and Bernard regard the sentence as referring to Palestinian anchorites who preceded the Carmelites; Thomas considers it as describing the Carmelites themselves:

John of Hildesheim, *Dialogus
inter directorem et detractorem
de ordine Carmelitarum*

Praeterea scribit Gerardus
Laodiceae Episcopus in libro

Bernard Oller, *Informatio
circa originem, intitulationem
et confirmationem Ordinis
Fratrum Beatae Virginis
Mariae de Monte Carmeli*

Item Girardus
episcopus Laodicie in libro

Thomas Scrope, alias Bradley,
Chronicon

Gerardus quoque
Episcopus Laodiceae in libro

⁵ *Isidori Hispani Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, VII.13, ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911); *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, II.16,

PL, 83, cols. 794–95. Ribot's quotations from these works appear in his *De institutione*, III.8, 15a.

de conversatione virorum Dei
in Terra Sancta degentium, ad
Guilielmum presbyterum: quod

Aliud est genus Religiosorum qui singulatim habitant, a saeculi rebus alieni: hi sunt qui ad exemplum Eliae silentium solitudinis praeferebant tumultibus civitatis, haec ille. Cum igitur ex Regula Carmelite

obligentur ad silentium, et ad vitam Eremiticam, praesertim usque ad

Regulae mitigationem, patet evidenter, quod fuerint successores praedictorum, se conformiter habentes ad ipsos.⁶

de conversatione virorum Dei
in Terra Sancta, ad
Guilielmum praesbyterum,
loquens
de diversis religiosis, subiungit
dicens:

Aliud est genus Religiosorum qui singillatim habitabant a saeculi rebus alieni. Hui sunt qui ad exemplum Helyae silentium solitudinis praeferebant tumultibus civitatis: haec ille. Quod autem oporteat haec verba intelligi de praedecessoribus praedictorum fratrum videtur patere ex eorum regula, per quam obligantur ad silentium, et ad singillatum habitandum per

cellas separatas.⁷

de conversatione virorum Dei
in Terra Sancta, ad
Guilielmum presbyterum de Carmelitis in Terra Sancta degentibus loquens scribit:

Aliud est genus Religiosorum qui singillatim habitabant a saeculi rebus alieni: hi sunt, qui ad exemplum Prophetae Eliae silentium solitudinis praeferebant tumultibus civitatis. Haec ille. Quod autem ista intelligenda sint

de Carmelitis patet ex eorum Regula

per quam obligantur ad silentium, et ad singillatum habitandum per cellas separatas.⁸

Though the exact relationship among these Carmelite works remains to be established, there is reason to believe that neither John of Hildesheim nor Bernard Oller were aware of Philip Ribot's *De institutione*, for John and Ribot wrote their tracts at about the same time and Bernard, though a leading Catalan Carmelite like Ribot himself, does not mention Ribot's work.⁹ Thomas Scrope, on the other hand, translated Ribot's treatise into English,¹⁰ but while writing the above passage he undoubtedly used Bernard. In his turn, Bernard may have used the tract of John.¹¹ Consequently, unless we postulate a no longer extant extract from Gerard's *De conversatione* which served Philip Ribot, or John of Hildesheim, or both, we may assume that at least two manuscripts of Gerard's work were extant in the latter part of the fourteenth century, and that they were independently used by at least two Carmelites, the one a Catalan, the other a German.

Gerard's work surfaces once more, and with many a detail, in the volume, published in Basel in 1569, which Matthias Flacius Illyricus and his fellow Centuriators of Magdeburg devoted to the twelfth century.¹² The volume contains a short biographical notice about *Gerardus a Nazareth*, later bishop of Laodicea; a list which specifies the names of five of his tracts and mentions that he wrote several others; and, most importantly, large number of summaries of, and references to, Gerard's writings,

which are dispersed throughout the volume.¹³ In the biographical note, Gerard is presented as *Carmelitanae sectae eremita*: apparently the Centuriators found Gerard's works in a Carmelite manuscript, whose copyist went one step beyond Scrope's assertion that Gerard referred to the early Carmelites, and made Gerard himself a member of that order. The manuscript used by the Centuriators seems to have differed from those that had been at the disposal of Philip Ribot and John of Hildesheim, for the Centuriators give the title of Gerard's work on the hermits of Palestine and Syria as *De conversatione servorum Dei*. Thus it appears that in Protestant Germany of the 1560s there existed a man-

⁶ *Speculum* of 1680 (note 3 *supra*), 152a, no. 671.

⁷ *Speculum* of 1507 (note 3 *supra*), 54b; see also *Speculum* of 1680, 168a, no. 742.

⁸ *Speculum* of 1680, 175a, no. 768.

⁹ R. Hendriks, "La succession héréditaire (1280–1451)," *Études carmélitaines*, 35 (1956), 59–62, 69–70.

¹⁰ The translation survives in MS Lamb. 192 f.; J. Tait, "Scrope, Thomas," in *Dictionary of National Biography*, XVII (London, 1937–38), 1086.

¹¹ Hendriks, "La succession," 69–70.

¹² Matthias Flacius Illyricus et al., *Duodecima Centuria*, vol. VI of *Ecclesiasticae historiae, integrum Ecclesiae Christi ideam . . . secundum singulas centurias perspicuo ordine complectens*, 7 vols. (Basel, 1562–1574) (hereafter *Centuria XII*).

¹³ The biographical notice, the list of Gerard's works, and the summaries prepared by the Centuriators, appear in the Appendix to this article. The summaries of the passages from Gerard's *De conversatione* have been reordered according to the original sequence of the chapters of that work. Summaries of passages from Gerard's other works have also been grouped together. Specific references to the Appendix will therefore be dispensed with henceforward.

script of Gerard's works which was not one of those used by the fourteenth-century Carmelites.

How reliable are the Centuriators' summaries of the writings of Gerard? As is well known, Flacius and his collaborators were *compilateurs engagés* who endeavored to forge a weapon for Lutheranism's arsenal. But, as Pontien Polman, a twentieth-century Franciscan historian, put it, "the polemical intention of the authors is often relegated to the second place, and one comes upon the feverish eagerness of erudites who wish to make their discoveries known at all cost. The least detail finds a place somewhere in this immense depository of quotations and summaries; nothing is lost, and one encounters numerous documents which hardly serve the polemics."¹⁴ (The laconic remark appended to

a biographical sketch of the Antiochene patriarch Ralph of Domfront, which specifies that he died *circiter annum 1142, ut Gerardus a Nazareth annotat*,¹⁵ is a case in point). The Centuriators had their priorities. In the *Consultatio de conscribenda accurata historia ecclesiae* of 1554, in which Flacius outlined the features of what were to become the *Centuriae*, he called for a major emphasis on matters of doctrine and for brief biographical sketches, and these guidelines were largely followed.¹⁶ Consequently, Gerard's tract on the identity of Mary Magdalene with Mary of Bethany is recapitulated in great detail, whereas the lives of the Latin hermits of Outremer appear to have been reduced to essentials; they are also colored by the Centuriators' animosity toward monasticism.

Comparisons between other extant texts and their summaries indicate that, as a rule, the Centuriators severely abridged narratives but generally rendered their contents with accuracy. Narratives transmitted without abridgement were either freely paraphrased or almost verbatim transcribed, as the Centuriators' renditions of the following two passages from Book XVIII of William of Tyre's *Historia* illustrate:

William of Tyre

Rainaldus de Castellione . . . [patriarcham Antiochenum] . . .
nudo capite, et melle delibuto,
per diem aestivum in
sole ferventissimo compulit sedere,
nemine contra solis importunitatem
praebente remedium, vel gratia
pietatis muscas abigente.¹⁷

Sepulta est autem . . . domina Milissendis
. . . in crypta lapidea . . .
altare habens vicinum, ubi, tam
pro remedio animae ejus, quam pro
spiritibus omnium fidelium defunctorum.
acceptabiles quotidie creatori
offeruntur hostiae.¹⁸

Centuria XII

Rainaldus . . .
cum prius calvicie eius *melle* peruncita,
aestivo tempore per integrum diem
sole ferventissimo existente, sub dio
eum *sedere coegisset*,
nemine vel *contra aestum*
vel muscarum molestias quicquam
subsidi*ii* praestante.¹⁹

Sepulchrum Melesendis
reginae Hierosolymorum
vicinum habuit altare, ubi tam
pro remedio animae eius, quam pro
spiritibus omnium fidelium defunctorum.
acceptabiles creatori quotidie
*offeruntur hostiae.*²⁰

Possibly the second passage was quoted almost verbatim because it describes ecclesiastical practice; again, it is possible that the scholars who worked on the *Centuriae* under Flacius' direction differed in their habits of recapitulation. In any case, we may assume that the Centuriators' recapitulations of Gerard's works, too, contain some actual quotations, and that the summaries are, on the whole, reliable. Indeed, but for the one mistaken reference to Gerard as a Carmelite, there is nothing erroneous about those statements in the summaries which can be independently checked, nor is there anything improbable about the many facts which appear there for the first time.

¹⁴ P. Polman, "Flacius Illyricus, historien de l'Église," *RHE*, 27 (1931), 62. See also the appraisal by W. Nigg, *Die Kirchengeschichtsschreibung. Grundsätze ihrer historischen Entwicklung* (Munich, 1934), 48–65.

¹⁵ *Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1373. The preceding biographical sketch summarizes the relevant notices in William of Tyre's chronicle which do not specify the date of Ralph's death.

¹⁶ The *consultatio* was edited by K. Schottenloher, *Pfälzgraf Otheinrich und das Buch. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der evange-*

lischen Publizistik. Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, 50/51 (Münster, 1927), 147–57, with the pertinent passage appearing on p. 149.

¹⁷ William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, in *RHC* HOC, I (Paris, 1844), XVIII.1 (hereafter cited as WT, followed by book and chapter).

¹⁸ *Centuria XII*, chap. 3, col. 51.

¹⁹ WT, XVIII.32.

²⁰ *Centuria XII*, chap. 6, col. 889.

In 1574, five years after the publication of the Twelfth *Centuria* in Basel, the Swiss Protestant theologian Josias Simmler included in his enlarged edition of Gesner's *Bibliotheca universalis* an entry on Gerard which is strikingly similar to the biographical notice printed by the Centuriators. However, Simmler did not present Gerard as a Carmelite; he noted instead that Gerard was a hermit in the Black Mountain near Antioch; he indicated—like the Carmelite writers but unlike the Centuriators—that *De conversatione* was written *ad Guilhelnum presbyterum*; and he gave *Contra Salam templarium* as the title of Gerard's fifth tract, not *Contra Salam presbyterum* as the Centuriators had done.²¹ A careful reading of the summaries printed in the Twelfth *Centuria* might have driven Simmler to the conclusion that Gerard spent some time in the Black Mountain and was no Carmelite, but the other divergences indicate that he must also have had access to some other source. Indeed, one ought not exclude the possibility that Simmler consulted a manuscript containing Gerard's works—either the manuscript used by the Centuriators, or a different one. At any rate, with two manuscripts of Gerard's work presumably extant in the later fourteenth century, and with another one (and possibly even two) surviving into the sixteenth century, there is a fair chance that the full texts may still be discovered.²²

In his *Chronographia* of 1580, the French Catholic exegete Gilbert Génébrard presents Gerard, under the year 1144, as the author of *De una Magdalena contra Graecos*, as well as of other, unspecified tracts; though the name of John of Salisbury appears rather startlingly at the entry's end, Génébrard probably relied on Simmler or the Centuriators. However, for later bibliographers Simmler was undoubtedly the only source, whether

²¹ "Gerardus a Nazareth, patria Galilaeus, apud Nazareth primum, deinde in Montana Nigra prope Antiochiam Eremita, episcopus tandem Laodicensis, Graece & Latine doctus, scripsit ad Guilhelnum presbyterum, *De conversatione servorum Dei*, lib. 1. *Vitam Abbatis Heliae*, lib. 1. *De una Magdalena contra Graecos* lib. 1. *Ad ancillas Dei in Bethania*, lib. 1. *Contra Salam templarium*, lib. 1. *Atque alia. Claruit anno Domini 1140.*" *Bibliotheca instituta et collecta primum a Conrado Gesnero, deinde in Epitomen redacta per Iosiam Simlerum* (Zurich, 1574), 237b. Same entry in the enlarged edition by J. J. Friesius (Zurich, 1583), 281b.

²² However, a search in the Herzog August Bibliothek at Wolfenbüttel, which holds a substantial part of Flacius' library, has produced negative results. (Letter of March 17, 1982, by Dr. Wolfgang Milde, director of the MS collection of the Wolfenbüttel library, to the author). A scrutiny of the *Centuria* for recapitulations of other medieval texts no longer extant in their entirety remains to be undertaken.

directly or indirectly. Antonio Possevino, the Jesuit, copied Simmler almost verbatim—though without acknowledgment—into his *Apparatus sacer* of 1606, omitting only the tract *Contra Salam*; Gerhard Johann Vossius relied on Simmler and Possevino in his *De historicis Latinis libri tres* of 1627; so did William Cave (d. 1713) in his *Historia literaria*, while Jacques Le Long (d. 1721) referred only to Possevino while listing Gerard's tract on Mary Magdalene in his *Bibliotheca sacra*.²³ None of these bibliographers exhibited any special interest in Gerard, and so it fell to Du Cange (d. 1688) to identify him—in a work published only in 1869—with the bishop Gerard of Laodicea mentioned by William of Tyre. Du Cange also surmised that he might have been the Cistercian Girard, referred to by Bernard of Clairvaux, who became a bishop in the Latin East.²⁴ However, Du Cange, too, knew about Gerard of Nazareth and his works only through some entries of the bibliographers. Thus, the direct impact of the Centuriators' summaries was limited indeed.

The passage embedded in Carmelite literature fared somewhat better. Aubert Le Mire (d. 1640) listed Gerard's *De conversatione virorum Dei in Terra Sancta commorantium* among tracts on Carmelite origins; the way he quotes the title reveals that he came across Gerard's work in some Carmelite tract. (Le Mire's *Auctarium*, which contains this reference to Gerard, was posthumously published in 1649, and reprinted in 1718 by Johann Albert Fabricius. In his own *Bibliotheca Latina mediae et infimae aetatis*, Fabricius gives the long-form title of *De conversatione* as quoted in the *Auctarium*, then goes on to quote the titles of Gerard's four other tracts as given by Simmler).²⁵ And Cosma de Villiers, in his *Bibliotheca Carmelitana* of 1752, quotes the short extract from *De conversatione* as transcribed by John of Hildesheim, Bernard Oller, and Thomas Scrope, and uses Simmler's entry as well, thus drawing together for the first—and virtually the only—time the Carmelite and, at one remove, the Centuriator

²³ G. Genebrardus, *Chronographiae libri quatuor* (Paris, 1580), 362; A. Possevinus, *Apparatus sacer*, I (Venice, 1606), 543; G. I. Vossius, *De historicis Latinis libri tres* (Leiden, 1627), 712–13; W. Cave, *Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum historia*, II (Oxford, 1743), col. 219 (Cave remarks: *An edita sunt opuscula ista, libenter ab aliis edoceri vellem*); J. Le Long, *Bibliotheca sacra* (Paris, 1723), 742a.

²⁴ *Les Familles d'Outre Mer de Du Cange*, ed. E. G. Rey (Paris, 1869), 797. In his letter (Ep. 288, in PL, 182, col. 494C), Bernard mentions Girard as having been *nunc* made a bishop; since the letter dates in 1153 and since our Gerard was bishop of Laodicea by 1140, Bernard must have referred to another prelate.

²⁵ *Auberti Mirae Auctarium*, no. 486, in J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca ecclesiastica* (Hamburg, 1718), 90; J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Latina mediae et infimae aetatis*, III (Padua, 1754), 43.

transmission. Independently of Du Cange, de Villiers also identified Gerard of Nazareth with William of Tyre's bishop Gerard of Laodicea.²⁶

The one modern writer to use, albeit partially, the copious summaries of the Centuriators was the French savant and politician Pierre Pastoret, who dedicated a short article to Gerard in the thirteenth volume of the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, originally published in 1814. Repeatedly referring to the Twelfth *Centuria*, Pastoret related two stories from *De conversatione* and recapitulated the main points of *De una Magdalena* and *Contra Salam*; he also relied on the Centuriators' biographical entry and on William of Tyre to sketch Gerard's life. He did not know however the passage from Gerard transmitted in the Carmelite texts and, following the Centuriators, believed him to have been a Carmelite. Beside, being unaware of Simmler and his crucial mediation, he treated the Twelfth *Centuria*, Cave, Le Long, and Fabricius as if they had been of equal value.²⁷ Surprisingly enough, Pastoret's readily available information had a very meager impact on crusading historiography. Relying on Pastoret's article, Hans Prutz mentioned in his *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge* of 1883 that Bishop Gerard of Laodicea wrote a book, *De conversatione*, an *Epistola ad ancillas Dei apud Bethaniam*, and a *Vita abbatis Eliae*, and went on to remark that the content and the character of these works remain unknown; apparently Prutz gave no more than a cursory glance to Pastoret's article, and undoubtedly did not follow Pastoret's reference to the Twelfth *Centuria*. Another leading nineteenth-century historian of the crusades, Reinhold Röhricht, lists Gerard in his *Bibliotheca geographica Palaestinae* of 1890 as the author of *De conversatione* and of *Epistola ad ancillas Dei in Bethania*, and gives de Villiers and Pastoret as his references, ultimately pointing thereby to both the Carmelites and the Centuriators.²⁸ But neither Röhricht himself in his *Ge-*

schichte des Königreichs Jerusalem of 1898, nor any other subsequent historian of the crusades, followed these leads.²⁹

II

In their biographical sketch, the Centuriators present Gerard as *patria Galilaeus*, but there is no way to tell whether they are paraphrasing an explicit statement in Gerard's tracts, whether they are advancing a deduction based on their own reading of these works, or whether—as they probably do in asserting that Gerard was a Carmelite hermit—they are copying some intermediate source. In any case, the recapitulations of the early chapters of Gerard's *De conversatione*, which deal with a number of Palestinian hermits, disclose that Gerard did live for some time in Galilee. A small cell near Nazareth which was Gerard's abode, is mentioned in chapter two; a monk known to Gerard who lived in reclusion on the northern slope of Mount Tabor appears in chapter three; an illiterate ascete of Nazareth, to whom Gerard tried in vain to teach the alphabet and some Psalms, is portrayed in chapter six. And the summary of the *Vita Eliae* includes the notice that Gaufredus, who flourished about 1140 on Mount Tabor, and was intimate with Abbot Elias of Palmaria, brought about a friendly relationship between Gerard and Elias. (This Gaufredus is probably identical with Abbot Gaufridus of Mount Tabor who appears in a charter of 1139.)³⁰

The later chapters of *De conversatione*, which deal with the hermits of the Black Mountain near Antioch, are also based to some extent on personal recollections, since Gerard mentions that he lived in a monastic community on the Mountain. At an unspecified date he became bishop of Laodicea in the patriarchate of Antioch—a town with a considerable Greek population which at the turn of the twelfth century had been for a short while under Byzantine rule^{30a}—and in this capacity he wrote the tractates *De una Magdalena contra Graecos* and *Contra Salam*.

²⁶ C. de Villiers, *Bibliotheca Carmelitana* (Orléans, 1752; repr. with supplement, Rome, 1927), I, 554–55; II, 913. De Villiers knew also the entries by Frisius, Possevino, Vossius, Le Mire, Cave, and Le Long.

²⁷ P. Pastoret, "Gérard de Nazareth, évêque de Laodicée, en Syrie," in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XIII, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1859), 300–1. A reference to *De una Magdalena*, also based on *Centuria XII*, appeared already in *Histoire littéraire*, IX, 162; this reference, too, was known to de Villiers.

²⁸ H. Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Berlin, 1883), 453; R. Röhricht, *Bibliotheca geographica Palaestinae* (Berlin, 1890; repr. with supplements, Jerusalem, 1963), 37, no. 89. There is also a brief entry on Gerard, referring to Cave, Fabricius, Le Long, Pastoret, Röhricht, and de Villiers, in U. Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge: Bio-bibliographie*, I (Paris, 1905), col. 1737.

²⁹ Among modern Carmelite authors, only Joachim Smet briefly mentions "a number of anecdotes about hermits on Mt. Tabor, narrated by Gerard of Nazareth" and preserved in the work of Flacius: Smet, *The Carmelites*, 5.

³⁰ R. Röhricht, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani* and *Additamentum* (Innsbruck, 1893–1904) (hereafter cited as *RRH*), no. 191.

^{30a} For an attempt at establishing the chronology of the Byzantine rule in Laodicea, see R.-J. Lilie, *Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten. Studien zur Politik des byzantinischen Reiches gegenüber den Staaten der Kreuzfahrer in Syrien und Palästina bis zum vierten Kreuzzug (1096–1204)* (Munich, 1981), 252–74.

A Bishop Gerard of Laodicea appears repeatedly in twelfth-century sources; indeed, he is the only twelfth-century Latin bishop of that city whose name has come down.³¹ William of Tyre relates that Bishop Gerard of Laodicea attended the legatine council convened to examine the charges against Patriarch Ralph of Antioch and that, together with Archbishop Stephen of Tarsus and Bishop Hugh of Jabala, he adopted a hostile stance toward the patriarch, who was subsequently deposed.³² (Bernard Hamilton has recently shown that the council in question probably took place in 1140;³³ it has been seen above that Gerard of Nazareth notes that Ralph of Antioch died in about 1142.) A charter drawn up at Laodicea in 1151 discloses that *Geraldus Laodicensis episcopus* had played a role in the restitution of a tract of land to its lawful owners and subsequently witnessed the act by which the owners donated the land to the Knights Hospitaller.³⁴ When in 1159 the Byzantine Emperor Manuel advanced on Antioch to punish its adventurous ruler, Rainald of Châtillon, for his brutal raid on Byzantine Cyprus, and Rainald hastened to Cilicia to appease him by a spectacular act of self-humiliation, he took along "the Lord Girardus, venerable bishop of Laodicea." So reports William of Tyre.³⁵ The anonymous Old French translator of William's *Historia* ascribes however a much more central role to Gerard (whom he presents as *l'arcevesque Giraut de la Lische*). It is he who urges Rainald to hasten toward the emperor and humbly ask for his mercy, arguing that such an act would satisfy the Greeks, "who are vainglorious and seek nothing but outward honor." Rainald decides to embark upon this dangerous course, and takes Gerard with him. Then Gerard, acting on his own, goes to the emperor, mellows his wrath with *deboneres paroles*, and induces him to make peace with Rainald, on condition that the latter perform a public act of penance.³⁶ In the same year—1159—

³¹ Cf. R. Röhricht, "Syria sacra," *ZDPV*, 10 (1887), 27.

³² WT XV.16.

³³ B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States. The Secular Church* (London, 1980), 370–72.

³⁴ *RRH*, no. 263. J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem* (hereafter Delaville, *Cartulaire*), I (Paris, 1894), 153–54, no. 198.

³⁵ WT VIII.23.

³⁶ *Guillaume de Tyr et ses continuateurs. Texte français du XIII^e siècle*, ed. P. Paris, II (Paris, 1880), 232; a somewhat different version is printed in *RHC HOCC* I, 860. Cf. R. Grousset, *Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem*, II (Paris, 1935), 402; S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, II (Cambridge, 1952), 352. For another Latin remark on Byzantine flattery, see Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, ed. and trans. V. Berry (New York, 1948), 26. The new details supplied by the Old French translator support J. Prawer's belief that the translation is a source

Gerard appears as witness to a charter of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem. In 1160 he attests to another charter of the queen and on 31 July 1161, in his final appearance in the sources, he witnesses in Nazareth a deed of King Baldwin III of Jerusalem.³⁷

Is this Bishop Gerard of Laodicea of the twelfth-century sources identical with Gerard of Nazareth, later bishop of Laodicea, known through the writings of the Carmelites and Centuriators? We have already seen that Du Cange, de Villiers, and Pastoret did so believe; but it should be noted that the Centuriators were of a different opinion. Listing the bishops of Laodicea, they first present Gerard of Nazareth and then, on William of Tyre's authority, the bishop *Geraldus* who accompanied the prince of Antioch to his meeting with Emperor Manuel.³⁸ Possibly the Centuriators found some detail in the writings of Gerard of Nazareth which made them think that he could not have been bishop of Laodicea at the time of Manuel's advance on Antioch. More likely, the distinction between the two bishops is a mere editorial slip on the part of the Centuriators, caused perhaps by divergent forms of the bishop's name they found in their documentation. In any case, nothing in the summaries printed by the Centuriators argues against the identity of Gerard of Nazareth with the bishop of Laodicea of the twelfth-century sources. Quite on the contrary, the report of the Old French translator about Gerard's penetrating observation on Byzantine mentality and about his effective intervention with Emperor Manuel, ties in quite neatly with the claim in the biographical notice of the Centuriators that Gerard of Nazareth knew Greek well, and also conforms with his authorship of *De una Magdalena contra Graecos*. Moreover, the puzzling presence of Bishop Gerard of Laodicea in the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1159, 1160, and 1161, attested to by the charters of Melisende and Baldwin III, may be explained by the remark of the Centuriators that, in his *Contra Salam*, Gerard of Nazareth attacked his adversary for having, *inter*

of factual information ("Colonization Activities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *RBPhH*, 29 [1951], 1063–1118, repr. in his *Crusader Institutions* [Oxford, 1980], 102–42, esp. 110) and necessitate at least a partial revision of M. R. Morgan's contrary opinion (*The Chronicle of Ernoul and the Continuations of William of Tyre* [Oxford, 1973], 185–87).

³⁷ *RRH*, nos. 338, 359, 366.

³⁸ *Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1380 (where the name of the prince of Antioch is erroneously given as Raymond). However, in their recapitulation of William of Tyre's account about the legatine council which deposed Ralph of Domfront, the Centuriators mention the presence of Bishop *Gerardus* of Laodicea: *Centuria XII*, chap. 9, col. 1302.

alia, introduced into Laodicea a Greek bishop against the Latin one. The contemporary Byzantine chronicler Cinnamus reports that, when the emperor Manuel finally accepted the penitent Rainald of Châtillon into his grace, he made him promise on oath to admit an Orthodox patriarch into Antioch.³⁹ It is possible that an Orthodox bishop made his appearance in Laodicea in the wake of Manuel's triumph and that Gerard refused to stay in the city alongside him. This would explain the vehemence of Gerard's outburst against Sala and his departure for Jerusalem, where, so the charters suggest, he enjoyed royal patronage.⁴⁰ In so doing, Gerard would have followed the example of his superior, Patriarch Aimery of Antioch, who chose to spend a few years in self-imposed exile in Jerusalem when his position in Antioch became precarious in the mid-1150s.⁴¹ The identity and office of Sala remain unknown. The Centuriators present him as a priest, Simmler as a Templar—and it should be noted that a Templar *frater Salo cappellanus* drew up in 1163 an agreement between the bishop of Valania, whose see was located south of Laodicea, and the Templar master.⁴² If Sala had indeed been this—or another—Templar, Gerard's charge that he had presumed to consecrate a cemetery and encroached thereby on episcopal rights, would make egregious sense, for in 1145 Pope Eugene III instructed the *prelates* to bless the cemeteries of the Templars.⁴³ (The issue evidently led to clashes between the Military Orders and the episcopate, for in 1183 Lucius III had to proclaim on three different occasions that, if the pertinent diocesan refuses to bless a Templar or Hospitaller cemetery, the knights may ask any bishop of their choice to perform that function.)⁴⁴ The one moot

point about this reconstruction is why Gerard, Prince Rainald's trusted adviser on the way to Cilicia, was not able to ward off Sala and his Greek bishop a short time later. Perhaps Manuel had forced Rainald to promise to introduce Orthodox prelates not only to Antioch, as Cinnamus relates, but to other sees of the principality as well. Indeed, at an earlier juncture Manuel's father John is reported to have expelled Latin bishops from the towns of Cilicia which he had conquered, and to have had them replaced with Orthodox ones.⁴⁵

The passage from *De conversatione* preserved in Philip Ribot's work testifies to Gerard's command of Latin; the one sentence from *Contra Salam* quoted by the Centuriators—"As necessity coerces me to read the work of this Sala, I feel as if, chewing pitch or a gluey substance with clogged-up teeth, I were barely capable of gulping down"—suggests that Gerard was a quite formidable polemicist, and a wit as well. But it is *De una Magdalena contra Graecos* which is the most revealing, as it attests to a remarkable learning.

Ever since Gregory the Great, the Latin Church generally identifies Mary Magdalene with Mary of Bethany as well as with the repentant sinner of Luke 7:36–50, whereas the Orthodox Church, following Origen, regards them as three distinct persons.⁴⁶ Paschasius Radbertus (d. ca. 860), who knew of the views of Origen, Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome, was the last Latin to discuss the issue at any length. Later Western writers, such as Gerard's contemporaries Gilbert of Hoyland and Peter Comestor, assumed the identity as a matter of course, while Bernard and Nicholas of Clairvaux, who had their reservations, limited their expression to a few, lapidary remarks.⁴⁷ For Gerard, living as he did in close proximity to Orthodox Christians who honored Mary of Bethany and Mary Magdalene on different days of the year, the issue

³⁹ Cinnamus, *Historiae*, IV.18, Bonn ed., 26 (1836), 183. See also *ibid.*, IV.20, 185–86, and the note in RHC Grecs, II (Paris, 1881), 310–12.

⁴⁰ Gerard's prolonged stay in the Kingdom of Jerusalem has not yet been commented upon. Discussing the Nazareth charter of 1161, Bernard Hamilton assumes that Gerard was present there as member of the delegation of the count of Tripoli: *Latin Church* (supra, note 33), 131. Nothing in the charter supports this assumption; and Laodicea belonged to Antioch not Tripoli.

⁴¹ For Aimery's exile, see Hamilton, *Latin Church*, 43–44.

⁴² RRH, 381. S. Paoli, *Codice diplomatico del sacro militare ordine gerosolimitano*, I (Lucca, 1733), 41, no. 39. The document (Malta Archives, Div. I, vol. 2, piece 27), a parchment with holes for a seal, is evidently the original; it has: "et frater salo cappellanus qui hanc cartam ditauit." I would like to thank Professor Anthony Luttrell, of the University of Malta, for having examined the document for me.

⁴³ R. Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter. Archivberichte und Texte*, AbhGöttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl. III.77 (1972), 217, no. 10; cf. 237, no. 31.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 347–48, nos. 159–60; Delaville, *Cartulaire*, I, 442, no. 657.

⁴⁵ Odo of Deuil, *De profectione* (supra, note 36), 68–70.

⁴⁶ The best discussion, which proved also to be most helpful for the identification of the texts quoted in Gerard's *De una Magdalena*, is that by U. Holzmeister, "Die Magdalenenfrage in der kirchlichen Überlieferung," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 46 (1922), 402–22, 556–84. See also V. Sacher, "Les Saintes Marie Madeleine et Marie de Béthanie dans la tradition liturgique et homilétique orientale," *RSR*, 32 (1958), 1–37.

⁴⁷ Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Mattheum*, PL, 120, cols. 875–82; Gilbert of Hoyland, *In Cantica sermo XXXII*, PL, 184, cols. 171–73; Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica in Evangelio*, 64, PL, 198, col. 1571A, also *Sermo in festo S. Magdalena*, PL, 171, cols. 671–78; Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones in Cantica* 12, PL, 183, col. 831A; Nicholas of Clairvaux, *Sermo in festo B. Mariae Magdalena*, PL, 185, cols. 216B, 218A. Cf. Holzmeister, "Magdalenenfrage," 583–84. For a list of Latin writers from Gregory the Great onward who assume the identity, see V. Sacher, *Le culte de Marie Madeleine en Occident des origines à la fin du moyen âge*, I (Paris, 1959), 3, note 12.

was however alive, and it may have become of still greater concern because of his ties with the Latin nuns of Bethany for whom he had written a sermon, as the Orthodox feasts of Mary of Bethany were presumably linked to the Bethany sanctuary at which the Latin nunnery was established in 1143.⁴⁸ Hence Gerard dedicated a full-length treatise to the issue, the only Catholic to do so before Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples was to trigger a long debate with his *De Maria Magdalena* of 1518.⁴⁹

Gerard quotes passages from Ambrose's *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam*, Augustine's *De consensu Evangelistarum*, Jerome's *Epistola ad Hedybiam*, Gregory the Great's *Homiliae in Evangelia*, and Bede's *Homelia Evangelii*, as well as from a sermon which medievalists attributed to Ambrose, but which modern research has ascribed to one of his Spanish contemporaries, Gregory of Elvira. In addition, Gerard is aware of the views of Origen and Anselm—it is not clear whether he means Anselm of Canterbury or Anselm of Laon—and refers to Jerome's *Liber contra Jovinianum*. This assembly of authorities is impressive indeed: in the High Middle Ages, only Aquinas will match Gerard in his breadth of reading—though not in the length of his discourse—on the subject.⁵⁰

In his exposition, Gerard roughly follows the usage of his day. First he states his position, giving two reasons of his own for the identity of the two Marys. (The repentant sinner of Luke 7:36–50 interests him much less, probably because the Orthodox Church never dedicated a specific feast to her.)⁵¹ Then he presents his authorities, from Ambrose to Bede, and while doing so duly notes Ambrose's vacillation on the issue and attempts to harmonize the views of Jerome and Augustine. Subsequently he adduces the Latin reverence for a single Mag-

⁴⁸ For the probable links between the Orthodox feasts and Bethany, see Sacher, "Les Saintes," 19, 36; on the establishment of the Latin convent in 1143, see H. E. Mayer, *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem*, MGH Schr., XXVI (Stuttgart, 1977), 389. As an erstwhile hermit, Gerard might also have shared the Latin hermits' special devotion to the Magdalene, on which see É. Delaruelle, "Les ermites et la spiritualité populaire," in *L'eremitismo in Occidente nei secoli XI e XII*, Atti della seconda Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 1962 (Milan, 1965), 235–36.

⁴⁹ Cf. A. Hufstader, "Lefèvre d'Étaples and the Magdalene," *Studies in the Renaissance*, 16 (1969), 31–60.

⁵⁰ While commenting on Matthew 26:6 and John 11:1, Aquinas mentions the views of Origen, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, John Chrysostom, and Gregory: *S. Thomae Aquinatis Opera Omnia*, X (Parma, 1860; repr. New York, 1949), 242, 489. Albertus Magnus, in his commentary on Luke, mentions only the opinion of Gregory and Bede as opposed to that of John Chrysostom and Origen: *B. Alberti Magni Opera Omnia*, ed. S.C.A. Borgnet, XXII (Paris, 1894), 507.

⁵¹ Cf. Sacher, "Les Saintes," p. 2.

dalene, honored by a single feast, as a further argument for the identity of the two Marys. Finally, he deals with objections to the unitary thesis, arguing that Ambrose's reservation is tentatively formulated, that Jerome's postulation of two women in *Contra Jovinianum* is set off by his contrary statement in the *Epistola ad Hedybiam*,⁵² and that the opinions of Ambrose and Augustine—which Gerard presents as far more definite than they had actually been—should be preferred over that of Origen.⁵³ The treatise concludes on the conciliatory note that a Christian may believe either in the unity or in the diversity of the two Marys without great peril to his soul; yet it is preferable to adhere to the view which is more true or likely.

Does Gerard's familiarity with a considerable number of patristic works, and his capacity to construe a complex argument, prove that he had studied in Europe? Not necessarily. The one surviving catalogue of a chapter library of the Crusader East lists the same kind of works to be encountered in contemporary, medium-sized cathedral libraries of France and Italy.⁵⁴ It so happens that this crusader catalogue describes the library of the church of Nazareth. The manuscript dates from 1200 or so,⁵⁵ but it is reasonable to assume that the affluent shrine church of Nazareth, which owned land in Apulia—and perhaps elsewhere as well—before 1158,⁵⁶ had possessed already in Gerard's day many of the books listed in this catalogue, and that other well-

⁵² In his *Contra Jovinianum*, Jerome writes: "Quod et duae mulieres in Evangelio, poenitens et sancta, significant: quarum altera pedes, altera caput tenet. Tametsi nonnulli existimant unam esse, et quae primum coepit a pedibus, eam gradatim ad verticem pervenisse." (PL, 23, col. 340BC). This statement evidently supports the unitary position, yet in the Centuriators' summary it is presented as favoring the opposite view. Apparently Gerard, or his summarizers, erred in their judgment.

⁵³ For a discussion of the views of Ambrose and Augustine, see Holzmeister, "Magdalenenfrage," 416–17, 421–22, 560–62, 573–75.

⁵⁴ The catalogue was edited by W. Schum, *Beschreibendes Verzeichniss der amponianischen Handschriften-Sammlung zu Erfurt* (Berlin, 1887), 360–61, to be read with the corrections of P. Lehmann, "Von Nazareth nach Erfurt," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 50 (1933), 483–84. J. S. Beddie arrived independently at the conclusion that the catalogue describes the library of the church of Nazareth: "Some Notices of Books in the East in the Period of the Crusades," *Speculum*, 8 (1933), 240–41.

⁵⁵ This is the date given by Lehmann. As Nazareth was conquered by Saladin in 1187 and recovered by the Franks only in 1229, the catalogue must have been drawn up either in Nazareth before 1187 or after 1229, or in Acre, where the bishops of the Muslim-ruled dioceses dwelt since 1191.

⁵⁶ A donation to the church of Nazareth made in Barletta in 1158 transfers possessions *Petro venerabili presbitero et canonicō ipsius ecclesie et obedientiarum ipsius ecclesie in his partibus legitime constituto*: Francesco Nitti di Vito, ed., *Le pergamene di Barletta, Archivio capitolare (897–1285)*, Codice diplomatico Barese, VIII (Bari, 1914), 123, no. 85. The formulation indicates that Nazareth had possessions in that region before 1158.

endowed churches in the country had comparable libraries at their disposal. Now, among the seventy-two items of the Nazareth catalogue there appear *Anbrosius (sic) super Lucam*, a work Gerard quotes; the *epistole Ieronimi et Augustini*, which may have contained the *epistola ad Hedybiam* to which Gerard refers; and *XV^{am} libri beati Augustini*, which may have included the *De consensu Evangelistarum* used by Gerard. The catalogue lists also four other works of Jerome (though not *Contra Jovinianum*) and four works by Gregory the Great (though not the *Homiliae in Evangelia*). Consequently, Gerard may well have found his sources in a library of the Latin East of the type documented by the Nazareth catalogue. A book like *Cur Deus homo*, also listed in that catalogue, might have made him familiar with the rebuttal of *objectiones*. Moreover, Gerard might have corresponded with some European scholar before setting out to write his treatise on the Magdalene: his superior, Patriarch Aimery of Antioch, was to receive from the Pisan, Constantinople-based theologian Hugh Etherianus, the Latin and the Greek versions of his tract on the double procession of the Holy Spirit—a tract clearly intended for polemics with the Orthodox of Antioch—and was to ask him for three further works,⁵⁷ while a contemporary patriarch of Jerusalem wrote to Peter Comestor, asking for arguments justifying warfare against the pagans.⁵⁸

Though having lived in proximity to Orthodox Christians, Gerard betrayed no knowledge of Greek texts in his attack on the Orthodox position. He was aware of, though apparently did not quote, Origen's view, but this was available in Latin translation.⁵⁹ Other Greek texts are not even alluded to. Gerard's younger contemporary, Hugh Etherianus, combed the libraries of Constantinople for Greek texts which might prove that some Greek Fathers believed, like the Latins, in the dual

⁵⁷The exchange between Hugh Etherianus and Aimery of Antioch is printed in E. Martène and U. Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, I (Paris, 1717), cols. 479–81, and reprinted (with some mistakes) in PL, 202, cols. 229–32. Hugh writes that he is sending his book to Aimery *per manum gloriosissimi principis Rainaldi*; Antoine Dondaine deduced from this phrase that Rainald of Châtillon made an otherwise undocumented voyage to Constantinople after his liberation from Muslim captivity in 1176; the voyage probably took place at the end of 1176 or at the beginning of 1177: A. Dondaine, "Hugues Éthérian et Léon Toscan," *AHMA*, 27 (1952), 88, note 1.

⁵⁸Peter's answer was edited by J. Leclercq, "Gratien, Pierre de Troyes et la seconde croisade," *Studia Gratiana*, 2 (1954), 589–93; for a discussion, see E.-D. Hehl, *Kirche und Krieg im 12. Jahrhundert. Studien zu kanonischem Recht und politischer Wirklichkeit*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, XIX (Stuttgart, 1980), 154–58.

⁵⁹See, for instance, PG, 18, cols. 1721B–1726C (the tract survives only in Latin translation).

procession of the Holy Spirit; Gerard, had he undertaken a similar search, might have discovered that the eleventh-century Byzantine chronicler Cedrenus considered Mary Magdalene to have been the sister of Lazarus, i.e., that Cedrenus assumed, like the Latins, an identity of the two Marys.⁶⁰ But Gerard, whose very choice of topic indicates that he was of a different calibre than Hugh, must have attempted to bolster the confidence of the Latins of Outremer in the teachings of their Church rather than to have aimed at convincing the Greeks of their error. And, despite the Centuriators' assurance that he was *Graece et Latine doctus*, it is just possible that his knowledge of Greek was not sufficient for the latter task.

III

Gerard's works dramatically enhance our knowledge of eremitism in the Latin East. It is well known that a hermit played a significant role in the First Crusade, and a few references attest to the existence of hermits in the Crusading Kingdom,⁶¹ but they are too scanty to warrant meaningful generalization. Gerard's *De conversatione* and *Vita abbatis Eliae*, on the other hand, reveal an entire gallery of Latin hermits living in the East in the first half of the twelfth century, and allow some conclusions about the nature and evolution of this branch of Latin eremitism.

The hermits "prefer the silence of the wilderness to the tumults of the city," writes Gerard in the one passage of *De conversatione* which survives, due to Carmelite interest, in its entirety. His sketches of their lives, summarized by the Centuriators, show them withdrawing to caves on the slopes of Mount Tabor or wandering in Galilee and along the Black Mountain near Antioch; the Hungarian priest Cosmas shuts himself in a cell atop the walls of Jerusalem, not unlike Simon of Trier who, a century earlier, ended his days in a compartment of that

⁶⁰For a biographical sketch of Hugh, see Dondaine, "Hugues Éthérian," 69–97; for an appreciation of his treatise on the double procession of the Holy Spirit, see M. V. Anastas, "Some Aspects of Byzantine Influence on Latin Thought," in *Twelfth-Century Europe and the Foundations of Modern Society*, M. Clagett et al., eds. (Madison, 1961), 140–49. The remark of Cedrenus appears in his *Historiarum compendium*, PG, 121, col. 1148B; cf. Holzmeister, "Magdalenenfrage" (*supra*, note 46), 578.

⁶¹The *Pilgrimage of Joannes Phocas in the Holy Land (1185)*, trans. A. Stewart, in *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, V/3 (London, 1896), 27–29, 35; Conrad of Montferrat's letter to King Béla of Hungary (January 1188), ed. in A. Chroust, *Tageno, Ansbert und die Historia Peregrinorum* (Graz, 1892), 200; his letter to Baldwin of Canterbury (September 20, 1188), in Delaville, *Cartulaire* (*supra*, note 34), 1, 531, no. 858; Jacques de Vitry, *Histona Hierosolymitana*, LII–LIII, in *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ed. J. Bongars, I (Hanau, 1611), 1075–76.

city's Porta Nigra. Some shun all human contact. One hides for years, half nude, emaciated, and sun-scorched, in the forest of Mount Tabor, and when a fellow Christian finally persuades him to tell his story, it transpires that he had lived in the woods ever since the Crusader conquest of Antioch and did not know that the city was still in Latin hands. Another hermit built himself a hut in a remote valley of the Black Mountain, communicating with other humans only by signs, and abstaining from the flesh of any creature, as well as from eggs. Renunciation of meat and wine, scant and rough clothing, bare feet, uncombed hair and unwashed limbs recur time and again in Gerard's portrayals of these Latin hermits, as do frequent fasts, self-flagellation, and feasts of prayer. One recluse, standing, recites the entire Psalter every day. And there is temptation to ward off, which in the case of one hermit on Mount Tabor assumes the form of a beautiful Saracen girl who chances upon his cave and prompts him to flee to the woods.

Other enthusiasts sought perfection by serving the lepers who lived in a house outside the walls of Jerusalem. Of these, Gerard describes in considerable detail one Alberic, who took care of the lepers' daily needs, kissed each of them every day after Mass, and carried the feeble among them on his shoulders. As he was once washing a leper's feet, the water mixed with blood and with saries made him sick, and he forced himself to plunge his face into the foul liquid and to draw in some part of it.⁶² Alberic used to whip himself so hard that the blood would stream down, to pray so often on his knees that they became callous, to wear a shirt of the roughest goat-hair. The hair and beard, cut asymmetrically, gave him a frightening visage. But, in his case, self-mortification did not entail a meekness of the spirit, and he would hurl biting, disparaging remarks at laymen who came his way.

Some hermits chose communal life. Several lived for some time in a large cave near Jerusalem; others formed a more stable community at Jubin, later at Machanath, both in the Black Mountain. Gerard describes the original, stringent rules which the members of Jubin imposed upon themselves. The prior they elected was strictly forbidden to receive any possessions: when a noble offered a sum of money, only three besants were to be accepted. Each

⁶² It is possible that the house of lepers was located at St. Stephen's north of Jerusalem: Shulamith Shahar, "Des lépreux pas comme les autres. L'Ordre de Saint-Lazare dans le royaume latin de Jérusalem," *RH*, 541 (1982), 25 and note 23. On monastic care for lepers, and on their image as especially chosen for salvation, see S. N. Brody, *The Disease of the Soul. Leprasy in Medieval Literature* (Ithaca and London, 1974), 101-4.

member lived in his own cell. Meat, eggs, and milk were banned altogether, three days a week the members limited themselves to bread and water, while on the other days they were allowed cooked vegetables as well. Fish was consumed seldom, wine most rarely.

Men exercised considerable mobility among these three, as well as other, modes of life, usually moving toward the more difficult.⁶³ Reinald, a monk of the Tabor monastery, would leave at the beginning of Lent for the wilderness along the Jordan, taking with him a few loaves of bread and a tool to dig up roots. There he would struggle with hunger until the coming of Easter—an *imitatio Christi* the Centuriators were to deride. Bartholomew, who came to Jerusalem as a pilgrim, first became a Knight Templar, then imitated Alberic in serving the lepers, and finally became a monk in the Black Mountain. The Burgundian knight Valerius also came to Jerusalem on a pilgrimage, soon afterward left for Jubin but, unsatisfied with life there, spent twelve years in the wilderness until, maltreated by Armenian shepherds, he returned to die in Jubin. Another pilgrim, Radulph, was captured by pirates on his voyage home, returned to the Holy Land, became a shepherd, then a member of Carraria—another Black Mountain community—and finally left for the desert. Some considered him a prophet. When the emperor of Constantinople besieged Antioch—the 1137 campaign of John Comnenus is probably meant here—Radulph fled to Tripoli and died there in 1142. Many who came to his tomb were said to have been healed.

The two towering figures in this gallery of Men of God living in the Holy Land are Bernard of Blois and Elias of Palmaria. They, too, led an austere, restless life. Bernard of Blois—a man of eloquence and fervor, according to Gerard—was a member of the original group at Jubin, and insisted on a strict adherence to the rules by which the members had agreed to live. When the prior—whose name goes unmentioned—relaxed the rules, began to accept gifts, and even permitted the consumption of sweet wine, Bernard and like-minded hard-liners vehemently objected. Quarrels ensued, and Bernard in his anger decided to die of hunger in the forest rather than tolerate these deviations—a course of action Gerard seems to have unfavorably

⁶³ The progress from monk to anchorite or hermit is already described in the Benedictine Rule: *La règle de Saint Benoît*, I, ed. and trans. A. de Vogüé and J. Neufville, I (Paris, 1972), 496-98. For a similar shift among English women, see A. K. Warren, "The Nun as Anchoress: England, 1100-1500," in *Medieval Religious Women*, ed. J. Nichols *et al.*, I (in press).

commented upon. Then Bernard left for Jerusalem and publicly censured King Baldwin II—who reigned between 1118 and 1131—for some “immense offenses,” and this reprobation, which had some impact on the king, earned him much praise.

The reference to Baldwin II’s *vitia enormia*, the denunciation of which was applauded in Jerusalem, is disturbing at first glance. William of Tyre eulogizes the second Baldwin in glowing terms: *in expeditione foelix; in operibus piis, clemens et misericors; religiosus et timens Deum*, and so forth.⁶⁴ True, Hans Eberhard Mayer has recently drawn attention to the opposition of the clergy, serving as the mouthpiece of a part of the nobility, to Baldwin’s expeditions of 1119 and 1120 to Antioch.⁶⁵ However, Bernard of Blois, coming from the north himself, could hardly have objected to military campaigns aimed at the defense of Antioch, nor could these have easily been categorized as *vitia*. It should be noted, though, that Matthew of Edessa, who knew Baldwin in person, and lauded his valor, orthodoxy, and modesty, added that these qualities were “tarnished by a greediness ingenious at laying hands on the wealth of others, by an insatiable love of money, and a lack of generosity.”⁶⁶ And there are two passages in the strictly contemporary chronicle by Fulcher of Chartres which, especially when read against the present context, imply some misgivings with regard to Baldwin’s moral comport. When Baldwin assumes direct control of Antioch in 1119, Fulcher writes: “I therefore admonish and beseech the king that he love God with his whole heart and entire soul and all his strength,” and this rather unexpected call is followed, a few lines down, by the explicit warning: “Let him beware not to bear a close-fisted hand toward God, who gives abundantly and without reproaching. If he desires to be king, let him strive to govern rightly.”⁶⁷ The modern editor of this text, Heinrich Hagenmeyer, remarked that the admonition against a close-fisted hand suggests that Fulcher may have been aware of some of the deficiencies pointed out by Matthew.⁶⁸ At a later point, when Baldwin is in Muslim captivity and the Jerusalemites nonetheless triumph over their enemies, Fulcher permits himself a less

⁶⁴ WT, XII.4.

⁶⁵ H. E. Mayer, “Jérusalem et Antioche au temps de Baudouin II,” *CRAI* (1980), 717–33.

⁶⁶ *Extraits de la chronique de Matthieu d’Edesse*, in *RHC, Documents Arméniens*, I (Paris, 1869), 119.

⁶⁷ Fulcher, *Historia*, III.7, ed. Hagenmeyer, 635; English trans. by F. R. Ryan and H. S. Fink (Knoxville, 1969), 231. (Here and below my translation differs on several points.) The injunction is considerably more specific than the one Fulcher voices in *Historia*, II.6 on the occasion of Baldwin I’s accession.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Introduction, 31; also, 616, note 4.

veiled thrust at the king and, contrasting the captive Baldwin with the King of Kings who allowed the Franks to gain their victory, he remarks: “Perhaps he was not king, whom as it so happened we had lost accidentally.” God, on the contrary, “is in truth king, that is to say, governs rightly. How then shall he be king, who is always overcome by his vices (*vitiis*)? Does one deserve to be called king, if one is always unbound by the law? Because he does not keep God’s law, he is not protected, and because he does not fear God, he shall fear the man who is his enemy. An adulterer or a perjurer or a perpetrator of sacrilege irrecoverably loses the name of king. A liar and a cheat, who will trust in him? He who is on a level with the impious, how will God listen to him? If he is a shatterer of churches, an oppressor of the poor, then he does not govern but destroys.”⁶⁹ Hagenmeyer’s keen intuition led him to surmise that the expression *pauperum oppressor* may have been aimed at Baldwin;⁷⁰ Bernard of Blois’ attack enhances the probability that some of the vices listed by Fulcher indeed referred to the king, with the chronicler prudently dispersing them within a more general catalogue of qualities a ruler should be free of.

When Baldwin was in Turkish captivity—we know from other sources that he was taken prisoner on 18 April 1123 and regained his freedom in the summer of 1124⁷¹—Bernard went to visit him and used the opportunity to preach the Christian faith to “the Turkish tyrant,” by whom Baldwin’s captor, Nür ad-Dawla Balak of Aleppo, is most probably meant. Gerard reports that when the Turk became incensed with ire, Bernard told him that even a lance thrust through his heart would not dissuade him from declaring the truth. Thus Bernard of Blois anticipated by about a century Francis of Assisi’s famous preaching before al-Malik al-Kāmil of Egypt.

Bernard was finally absolved from obedience to the prior of Jubin, and Patriarch Bernard of Antioch—known from other sources to have ruled between 1100 and 1135⁷²—allowed him to found a monastic community at Machanath, also in the Black Mountain. A papal legate appointed him its prior. Bernard used to lash himself daily, and when a novice became possessed and blessed water, the cross and the host proved to be of no avail, Ber-

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, III.21, 673–74; English trans., 245–46.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, III.21, 674, note 14; also, Introduction, 31.

⁷¹ See, for instance, R. Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem (1100–1291)* (Innsbruck, 1898), 155, 172.

⁷² On Bernard of Valence’s pontificate, see Hamilton, *Latin Church* (supra, note 33), 21–30.

nard applied his whip and liberated the novice thereby. (*Nota modum*, the Centuriators add disapprovingly.) Machanath was Bernard's last station. He died there praying on his knees.

Bernard of Blois has hitherto been totally unknown; the other major figure, Elias, has been until now only a name, the man who witnessed as *Hebyas abbas Palmarie* an 1138 charter of King Fulk of Jerusalem.⁷³ The Centuriators' summary of Gerard's *Vita abbatis Eliae* allows us to describe his life in some detail. Since Gerard was on friendly terms with Elias, one may assume that many of the details derive from their conversations.

A teacher of grammar in the region of Narbonne, Elias once intended to go to Spain and preach Christianity to the Saracens—an urge similar to that which prompted Bernard of Blois to preach to his Turkish tyrant—but was dissuaded from doing so. In the days of King Fulk—i.e., in or after 1131—he set out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, was ordained a priest in a "monastery of hermits" while underway, and, having visited the holy places, withdrew with his followers to a large cave near Jerusalem. The monks of Josaphat beseeched him to join their congregation; the patriarch of Jerusalem—i.e., William of Flanders—urged him to do so, and finally he agreed. From the Josaphat monastery, he was recalled to serve as abbot of Palmaria, a monastery situated, according to Gerard, not far from Tiberias.⁷⁴ King Fulk's wife—i.e., Melisende—released him from this office and he returned to Jerusalem, a further instance of Melisende's improper intervention in church affairs.⁷⁵ However, urged by the archbishop of Nazareth, Elias came back to Palmaria after a few years.

Elias reminds us of Bernard of Blois by his strict austerity, self-flagellation, and refusal to accept gifts. But, unlike Bernard, the erstwhile grammarian Elias cultivated intellectual interests, repeatedly explicating obscure passages of Scripture. Knowledgeable of European developments, Elias admired the Cistercians to the extent that he sent one of his followers to Gaul to bring back a Cistercian monk and learn about their customs at first hand. (The Centuriators' summary, or perhaps Gerard himself, do not spell out whether this mission was successful.) But in willpower Elias was no match for Bernard.

⁷³RRH, no. 174; E. de Rozière, *Cartulaire de l'Église du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1849), 62, no. 38; cf. Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (*supra*, note 36), 137, note 140.

⁷⁴For the location and history of this monastery, see B. Z. Kedar, "Palmarée, abbaye clunisienne du douzième siècle, en Galilée," *Revue Bénédictine* (in press).

⁷⁵Cf. Mayer, *Bistümer* (*supra*, note 48), 192.

While Bernard left Jubin on his own, publicly attacked Baldwin II, and actually preached Christianity to a Muslim ruler, Elias, whose impulses were similar, let himself to be dissuaded time and again. Once he played with the idea of offering himself and his followers to the Egyptians of Ascalon so as to obtain the liberation of an equal number of Christians held there in captivity, but his men talked him out of it; the patriarch of Jerusalem persuaded him to join the monks of Josaphat, the archbishop of Nazareth—to return to Palmaria. When the monks of Palmaria understandably refused to wear the Cistercian hood in the heat of the Jordan valley, and Elias resolved to leave them on that account, he finally stayed put, having been unable to obtain leave from his patriarch and the archbishop. He died at Palmaria in 1140, in the presence of some monks from Jerusalem, possibly former members of the original group which had gathered around him in the cave near Jerusalem.

The summaries of *De conversatione* and *Vita abbatis Eliae* point out that religious enthusiasts, so prominent on the First Crusade, continued to flock to the Holy Land in later years and formed part of the Frankish society which came to life there. These enthusiasts may be considered as a somewhat belated aftermath of the wave of eremitism which had swept Catholic Europe in the latter part of the eleventh and the early decades of the twelfth century. Part and parcel of the broader movement intent on a return to apostolic life, the European hermits of that period practiced severe austerity, self-mortification, and flagellation; many were vagrants, and some played a role in the preaching of Christianity to pagans. Soon there sprang up "eremical communities"—if one may borrow the paradoxical yet apposite term coined by Jean Leclercq—of which the *eremitarum monasterium* of the *Vita abbatis Eliae* seems to have been an instance. Peter Damiani, who led one of these new communities, refused to be called abbot, just like Elias of Palmaria was to prohibit his followers, especially during his sojourn in the cave near Jerusalem, from addressing him as abbot or prior. While the more unruly hermits aroused the criticism of writers like Ivo of Chartres or Payen Bolotin, some attained fame and honor. A certain Hugh—to quote Payen Bolotin—

religionis laude probatus,
Ex heremita sumpsit honorem pontificatus,

becoming in about 1110 bishop of Nevers, just like a generation later the hermit Gerard of Nazareth

was to become bishop of Laodicea. By 1145, the eremitic wave had largely spent itself in the West, with many groups disappearing, and others attaching themselves to existing orders, especially Cîteaux.⁷⁶

It would seem that some of the more fervent spirits chose to flee the growing regimentation in the West and embark upon a life of sanctity in Crusader Outremer. One keeps wondering whether these enthusiasts came under the influence of Eastern hermits and monks, especially on the Black Mountain which was, both before and during the Crusader period, dotted with Armenian, Greek, and Georgian convents and—to quote an eleventh-century Armenian writer—"monasteries inhabited by anchorites."⁷⁷ Some of the newly established Latin monastic communities were physically close to Oriental ones.⁷⁸ Bernard of Blois' Machanath may have taken over the name of some indigenous, possibly Armenian establishment.⁷⁹ Some contacts evidently ensued. Nerses of Lambron, Armenian archbishop of Tarsus from 1175 to his death in 1198, who in his youth had retired into solitude for some time, writes that during a visit to the Black Mountain he "admired, full of astonishment, the life of solitude, virtue, and mortification of the Roman monks called today Franks." The amazed Nerses asked a Greek monk, Basil, why these Franks were surpassing their Greek and Armenian counterparts, and Basil referred him to Gregory the Great's *Life of St. Benedict*; Nerses, who knew Latin, set out to find and translate into Armenian both the *Life* and the Rule of Benedict.⁸⁰ Whether the Latins were impressed by the Oriental hermits and monks remains unknown. At any rate, in the Centuriators' summaries of Gerard's works the Orientals go un-

mentioned—and, as the Centuriators elsewhere exhibit an interest in the Eastern churches, one may assume that it was Gerard himself who chose to ignore them.

In the Crusader East, too, the Catholic hierarchy was intent on channelling eremitic ardor to traditional routes. We have seen that Patriarch Bernard of Antioch and a papal legate furthered the establishment of Bernard of Blois' community at Machanath, and that Patriarch William of Jerusalem persuaded Elias to leave his cave and join—probably with his followers—the monks of Josaphat. And Patriarch Aimery of Antioch (1140–1193) intervened still more radically with eremitical life when he laid down the rule that no one may live in solitude in the Black Mountain without a superior (*sine maiore inspectore*): so reports Gerard of Nazareth.

Indeed, Aimery of Antioch appears to have been a remarkably active prelate. When Eugene III asked him for a Latin translation of John Chrysostom's commentary on the Gospel according to Matthew, he procured a copy of the Greek text and sent it to the pope, who in his turn entrusted Burgundio of Pisa with its translation.⁸¹ In 1176 or 1177, as we have seen, he corresponded with Hugh Etherianus, his letter revealing that in the past he had repeatedly invited Hugh to come to Antioch, no doubt in order to fortify the Latins in their disputes with the Greeks.⁸² In 1178 he invited the Jacobite patriarch, Michael the Syrian, to attend the Third Lateran Council, probably informing him at the same time that the Cathar heresy was to be discussed there.⁸³ In about 1182 he succeeded in securing the union of the Maronites with Rome.⁸⁴ Gerard's statement about Aimery's regulation of eremitical life in the Black Mountain is congruent

⁷⁶ On Western eremitism see Jean Leclercq, "La crise du monachisme aux XI^e et XII^e siècles," *BISI*, 70 (1958), 19–41; and the volume *L'eremitismo in Occidente nei secoli XI e XII* (see note 48 *supra*), especially the articles by Cinzio Violante, Giovanni Tabacco, Gérard Gilles Meersseman, Jean Becquet, and Jerzy Kłoczowski. For criticism of the vagrant hermits, see Ivo of Chartres, *Epistola* 192, PL, 162, cols. 196–202; J. Leclercq, "Le poème de Payen Bolotin contre les faux ermites," *RBén*, 68 (1958), 52–86; the verses concerning Bishop Hugh of Nevers appear on p. 83, lines 293–94.

⁷⁷ On the monasteries on the Black Mountain, see L. M. Alishan, *Sissouan ou l'Arménie-Cilicie. Description géographique et historique* (Venice, 1899), 485–91, with the quotation (from Aristaces of Lastivert) appearing on p. 485; C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris, 1940), 323–24, 332 note 8, 565, 577, 628.

⁷⁸ Cahen, *Syrie*, 324 and note 6.

⁷⁹ Mak'ēnōt or Mak'ēnīs is the name of a monastery in Greater Armenia: *Extraits de la Chronique de Matthieu d'Édesse*, 38 and note. Macheguēv or Machegavor was one of the main Armenian monasteries on the Black Mountain: Alishan, *Sissouan*, 488–89.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 517; Cahen, *Syrie*, 565.

⁸¹ Burgundio writes in his prologue to the translation: "Ad Antiochenum igitur patriarcham scribens, quod predictis commentationibus deerat, ejus interventu ab aliquo interprete suppleri ammonebat. Ipse autem sive desidia sive inscitia interpretum ignoro, hoc minime complens, expositionem ejusdem S. Johannis super eundem evangelistam graecis litteris scriptam eidem summo pontifici mandare curavit": E. Martène and U. Durand, *Veterum scriptorum amplissima collectio*, I (Paris, 1724; repr. New York, 1968), cols. 817–18. The fact that a Greek manuscript from Antioch had to be translated in Pisa suggests that the knowledge of Greek among the Latins of Antioch must have been limited indeed.

As Burgundio completed his translation in December 1151 (col. 819), Eugene's request to Aimery may be dated between 1145 and 1150.

⁸² "Quare vos . . . frequenterque optavimus ut veniretis ad nos, et adhuc perseveramus in proposito . . ." *Thesaurus novus* (note 57 *supra*), col. 480.

⁸³ *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche* (1166–1199), ed. and trans. J.-B. Chabot, III (Paris, 1905), 377–78.

⁸⁴ WT, XXII.8.

with the other, hitherto largely disparate evidence about his activities.

Gerard's testimony about Aimery throws also some light on a vexed problem of Carmelite origins. The Dominican Etienne de Salagnac, who died in 1291, writes in his *De quatuor in quibus Deus Praedicatorum ordinem insignivit* (which survives however only in the expanded version of Bernard Gui, who died in 1331) that Patriarch Aimery of Antioch, who likewise originated from Salagnac and had a nephew among the hermits of Mount Carmel, *multum ipsos spiritualiter in domino nutriebat et in scriptis modum vite ipsorum redigens, ipsos separatim in cellulis per totum montem Carmeli antea habitantes sub cura unius adunavit et per professionis vinculum colligavit et per sedem apostolicam confirmari curavit.*⁸⁵ An anonymous Carmelite tract of the early fourteenth century adds that Aimery gave the Carmel hermits their name—*heremita beate Marie de Monte Carmeli*—and appointed his nephew as their first prior.⁸⁶ In his *Speculum* of 1337, the Carmelite John of Chamineto adds that Aimery "destroyed the Maronite error."⁸⁷ The *Epistola Cyrilli heremite*, published by Philip Ribot in 1370, claims in addition that Aimery served as papal legate in the Holy Land, ordered to translate a Greek rule into Latin for the benefit of the hermits on Mount Carmel, appointed in 1121 his brother Berthold as their first prior, and ordered that a monastery be built on the mountain.⁸⁸ Another work published by Ribot in 1370, the *Chronica Guilelmi de Sanvico*, claims that Aimery established some hermits of Mount Carmel in the wilderness of the Black Mountain.⁸⁹

The date 1121 is patently wrong. The notion of a Carmelite rule, a prior, and a monastery established on Aimery's initiative is untenable, as several modern authors have pointed out, and clearly betrays a Carmelite impulse to backdate the origins

⁸⁵ Stephanus de Salaniaco et Bernardus Guidonis, *De quatuor in quibus Deus Praedicatorum ordinem insignivit*, ed. T. Kaepeli, *Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica*, XXII (Rome, 1949), 180; also, 181.

⁸⁶ *De inceptione Ordinis beate Marie virginis de Monte Carmelo*, ed. G. Wessels in *Analecta ordinis Carmelitarum*, 8 (1932-37), 179. The anonymous author asserts that Aimery gave his attention to the hermits before the earthquake which destroyed Antioch, Tripoli, and Damascus in 1160—an obvious mistake for 1170—the twentieth year of Alexander III (sic!).

⁸⁷ *Speculum* of 1507 (see note 3 *supra*), 50b.

⁸⁸ The *Epistola* appears in Ribot, *De institutione*, VIII.2. In the 15th-century manuscripts mentioned above, the pertinent passage appears in MS R, fol. 236v; MS T, fol. 282; and MS M, fol. 136v-137v. The passage is most easily accessible in *Analecta ordinis Carmelitarum*, 3 (1914-16), 283-84.

⁸⁹ The *Chronica* appears in Ribot, *De institutione*, IX.1. For the pertinent passage, see MS R, fol. 258v; MS T, fol. 295v; and MS M, fol. 150v. *Analecta ordinis Carmelitarum*, 3 (1914-16), 303, 305.

of their order to the early twelfth century.⁹⁰ But the passage by Etienne de Salagnac, a Dominican who had no stake in embellishing Carmelite history, and who may be trusted to have known the tradition circulating in his native Salagnac about the one famous son of that place (a man who had served as patriarch of Antioch for more than fifty years), has been given some limited credence. Thus, Clemens Kopp assumed that Aimery may well have had a relative among the hermits of Mount Carmel, and therefore helped and advised them in a private capacity, influencing the direction which the emerging order was to take.⁹¹ Now that Gerard's *De conversatione* shows Aimery to have imposed a rudimentary organization on the hermits of the Black Mountain, the possibility that he gave some similar regimen to the hermits of Mount Carmel—perhaps during his self-imposed exile to the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the mid-1150's—gains more likelihood. The same is true of the assertion of the *Chronica Guilelmi de Sanvico*, that Aimery induced some Carmel hermits to leave for the Black Mountain.

Of course, it is also possible that the tradition related by Etienne de Salagnac referred originally to the regulation of the life of the hermits of the Black Mountain, and was later transposed to those of Mount Carmel, whose successors became in the meantime so well known in the West.⁹²

IV

Three of the monasteries first mentioned by Gerard of Nazareth also appear in later documents.

A letter which Pope Alexander III sent, about 1171, to the archbishop of Nazareth and three other Palestinian prelates, and a roughly contemporaneous letter King Amalric of Jerusalem sent to Pope Alexander, reveal that Palmaria had come upon bad times.⁹³ The pope regrets that it is destitute of the devotion with which it had glittered in the past, and the king mentions that a former abbot, now

⁹⁰ See, for instance, Ambrosius a S. Teresa, "Untersuchungen über Verfasser, Abfassungszeit, Quellen und Bestätigung der Karmeliten-Regel," *Ephemerides Carmeliticae*, 2 (1948), 30-37; Cicconetti, *La regola* (note 4 *supra*), 96-98.

⁹¹ Clemens Kopp, *Elias und Christentum auf dem Karmel* (Paderborn, 1929), 131.

⁹² Gerard himself apparently did not refer at all to hermits on Mt. Carmel—had he done so, both the Carmelite writers of the 14th century and the Centuriators in their entry on the origins of the Carmelite Order (*Centuria XII*, chap. 6, cols. 944-46) would certainly have quoted him.

⁹³ *RRH*, nos. 484, 495; *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, ed. A. Bernard and A. Brueil, V (Paris, 1894), 590-91, 586-87.

deceased, had dissipated its possessions, and that the present one has not made good either. The pope proposed therefore to establish Cluniac monks on the site. Gormund, the advocate and founder of the abbey, gave his consent and the king asked the pope to send a prior and three or four monks from Cluny. Thus it came about that not Cîteaux, as Elias of Palmaria had hoped for, but its great rival was called on to establish an offshoot along the shores of the Sea of Galilee. The Cluniacs came to Palmaria, and engaged in colonization.⁹⁴ However, they did not stay there long, as Saladin's victory of 1187 at the nearby Horns of Hattin was to put an end to the Frankish presence in the area.

Carraria, mentioned by Gerard a number of times, appears in an unpublished document of 1183, by which its abbot, Robert, sells some land to the Hospitaller commander at Antioch.⁹⁵

Jubin, in whose early history Bernard of Blois played so major a role, became a Cistercian house in 1214. Bishop Peter of Ivrea, a former member of a Cistercian community, agreed to become patriarch of Antioch on the condition that he might grant the Cistercian rule to an abbey of the Black Mountain; and it was St. George *de Jubino* which he helped to get incorporated into the Cistercian Order. The difficulties Jubin encountered during the incorporation, the regulation of the attendance of its abbots at the Cistercian Chapters-General, its dispute with the patriarch of Antioch in the early 1230s, the internal quarrel which beset it in the latter part of that decade, as well as the services which its abbot performed on behalf of the papacy in the 1250s, are recorded in the acts of the Chapters-General and in papal letters. The end came in 1268, when Sultan Baybars conquered Antioch. The Cistercians of Jubin fled to Cyprus and from there probably migrated to Genoa.⁹⁶

But even as Palmaria and Jubin were becoming affiliated to Cluny and Cîteaux, some enthusiasts of Outremer continued to adhere to the earlier, looser patterns attested in Gerard's writings. As late as 1235 there still were hermits living on the Black Mountain under a minister, not unlike Elias and his group in the cave near Jerusalem. Possibly they were following Aimery of Antioch's injunction. By that time however they, too, wished to lead a more

⁹⁴ For details, see my "Palmarée, abbaye clunisienne" (note 74 *supra*).

⁹⁵ Delaville, *Cartulaire*, I, 440, no. 651 (summary only); Cahen, *Syrie*, 324 note 9, 523.

⁹⁶ Most comprehensive account in B. Hamilton, "The Cistercians in the Crusade States," in *One Yet Two. Monastic Tradition East and West*, ed. B. Pennington, Cistercian Studies Series, XXIX (Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1976), 408–10, 415–20.

regulated life, and applied to Pope Gregory IX.

The pope instructed them to observe the rule of Benedict.⁹⁷

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

APPENDIX

Gerardus a Nazareth

Gerardus a Nazareth, *patria Galilaeus, ordinis S. Benedicti monachus primum prope Nazareth, deinde apud Antiochiam Carmelitanae sectae eremita, claruit anno 1140. ut ipse testatur cap. 2. de Conversatione servorum Dei. Tandem Laodicensis fit episcopus. In sacris literis eruditus fuit, philosophus et rhetor insignis, Graece et Latine doctus. Scripsit*

De conversatione servorum Dei,	lib. 1
Ad ancillas Dei apud Bethaniam,	lib. 1
Vitam abbatis Eliae,	lib. 1
De una Magdalena contra Graecos,	lib. 1
Contra Salam presbyterum,	lib. 1
Atque alia nonnulla. (<i>Centuria XII</i> , chap. 10, cols. 1379–80)	

Coenobii montis nigri ad Antiochiam, incolam se vocat Gerhardus a Nazareth. (Centuria XII, chap. 2, col. 12)

A. *De conversatione virorum Dei in Terra Sancta morantium, ad Guillielmum presbyterum seu De conversatione servorum Dei*

(possibly from the prologue) *Aliud est genus religiosorum. . . . inter Moysem et Helyam gloriosus effulsa.*

Philip Ribot, *De institutione et peculiaribus gestis religiosorum Carmelitarum*, III.8.

[For the full text of this passage, see p. 56 *supra*.]

(from chapter 2)

Nazarethae archiepiscopi meminit Gerhardus a Nazareth, qui se in cellula ibidem latuisse scribit, cap. 2 de Conversatione servorum Dei. (Centuria XII, chap. 2, col. 11)

Narrat Gerardus a Nazareth in libro de Conversatione servorum Dei, capite secundo, de quodam eremita montis Thabor, qui cum stimulus libidinis persentisceret, irritatus a quadam formosa iuvenula Saracenica, quae lactibula quaeritans, ad eius speluncam venerat, ingressus est vastum aliquod nemus, ut labore, fame atque siti aestum libidinosum restinguaret. Ibi quendam canitie gravem (ipsum diabolum fuisse recte dices) apparuisse illi, atque cervicem eius tam fortiter percussisse, ut carnis strumam evomeret, et postea cibum potumque dedit. Tandem hoc consilii ab eodem accepisse, ut quoties ardorem libidinis persentisceret, secundum Heliam invocaret, intercessorem apud Deum. (Centuria XII, chap. 10, cols. 1603–4)

⁹⁷ *Reg. Greg. IX*, ed. Auvray, no. 2660 (21 June, 1235); the full text is printed in L. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, 3rd ed., I (Quaracchi, 1931), 364.

Eremitam quandam ab Elia pastum, narrat Gerhardus a Nazareth de Conversatione servorum Dei, cap. 2. (Centuria XII, chap. 13, col. 1750)

(*The Centuriators' biographical notice about Gerard, quoted above, indicates that chapter 2 contained also some details about Gerard's own life.*)

(from chapter 3)

Gerhardus a Nazareth, notum sibi quandam et vita et habitu monachum fuisse, qui in septentrionali latere montis Thabor in specu latuerit, soloque pane et aqua, pomis herbisque crudis vixerit, ac quotidie totum Psalterium stando recitarit, capite 3. de Conversatione servorum Dei indicat. (Centuria XII, chap. 6, col. 987)

(from chapter 5)

Reinaldus natione Galilaeus, monachus montis Thabor, quotannis in initio Quadragesimae solitudinem ad Iordanis ripam ingressus est, sumens secum panes paucos et instrumentum effodiendis radicibus aptum, ibique ad maciem usque cum fame decertasse, donec Pascha adveniret. O ineptum simiarum genus, iejunium Christi sine mandato Dei et citra omnem necessitatem imitari praesumens. Gerardus a Nazareth cap. 5. (Centuria XII, chap. 10, col. 1604)

(from chapter 6)

Dominicus homo illiteratus et idiota in ecclesia Nazarehana, tam tetricam et austera vixit vitam, ut pene omnibus suo tempore admirationi esset. De crastino die nunquam fuit sollicitus, tam macilentus, ut ossa vix ossibus haererent. Risit nunquam, tacuit semper, ita ut mutum existimares. Domus eius atrium ecclesiae fuit, stratum nuda tellus, cervical lapis, pedes nudi, caput et facies velata continuo. Ei cum aliquando Gerardus a Nazareth suum offerret studium, velle se eum literarum elementa docere et quosdam Psalms, respuit omnino, indicans, se Deo placere magis posse iuste vivendo, quam tempus perdere inutiliter, aliquid eius rei addiscendo. Tales sanctos hoc nimurum seculum produxit. Gerard. a Nazareth de Conversatione quorundam servorum Dei, cap. 6. (Centuria XII, chap. 10, col. 1604)

(from chapter 7)

Bernhardus quispiam homo solitarius Nazarethae, solitus fuit tantum tribus in hebdomada diebus cibum capere, a vino et carnis in universum abstinens, tenuiter vestiri, mane et vesperi psalmos et preculas deblaterare, de die montes asperos et invios perlustrare, ubi forte latibulum suo coepit aptum reperiret. Is aliquando (dictu mirabile) crines capitis atque barbae ambussit, vestes abiecit in eremum, et occursum penitus refugit humanum, instar canis rabidi, donec tandem post dies quindecim frigore et inedia compulsus, hominum quaereret domicilia. Gerardus a Nazareth, cap. 7. (Centuria XII, chap. 10, cols. 1604-5)

(from chapter 9)

* Cosmas natione Ungarus, presbyter, in angusta quardam cella super muros Hierosolymitanos inclusus,¹ de-

¹In his letter to Baldwin of Canterbury, written in Tyre in

murmurandis preculis semper intentus fuit. Idem, cap. 9. (Centuria XII, chap. 10, col. 1603)

(from chapter 11)

Radulphus, natione Gallus, nobili genere natus, ita ut septingentorum militum duxor et dominus esset, omnia quae habuit deseruit, et leprosis quandam domum Hierosolymis ante civitatem inhabitantibus inservivit. Gerardus a Nazareth capite undecimo. (Centuria XII, chap. 10, col. 1603)

Albericus itidem Ierosolymis leprosis inservivit. Is ea quae reliqua fecerant leprosi, comedit, singulos quotidie exacta Missa exosculatus est, pedes eorum lavit, tersit, stravit lectos, languentes humeris cubitum portavit. Cumque uni aliquando pedes lavisset, et aqua sanguine et sanie mixta ipsi nauseam moveret, protinus faciem immersit, et partem non exiguum (horribile dictu) exhausit. Cella ipsi magis carcer voluntarius fuit, quam in qua viveret. Flagellis sese frequenter caecidit, ita ut largus crux distillaret. Preculas demurmurans vel humi stratus procubuit, vel in genua devolutus, ita ut callos obducerent. Pane fuit contentus solo hordeaceo et aqua: cilicio asperrimo usus est, nudis incedens pedibus. Inaequali tonsura caput rasit et barbam, ut morionem crederes. Si qui seculares eum accedebant, aut mordaci dicacitate eos pupugit, aut superbe contempsit hypocrita. Gerardus a Nazareth cap. 11. (Centuria XII, chap. 10, col. 1603)

(from chapter 12)

Bartolomaeus quispiam praepostero religionis studio uxorem suam pudicam et formosam, et patriam deserens, Hierosolymam peregrinatus, ibi miles templi factus est. Is imitatus Albericum, leprosis ad Ierosolymam aquam ex lacunis magno labore adferre solitus est, inque omni necessitate quantum potuit ipsis praesto esse. Ieiuniis et vigiliis ad necem ferme sese excarnificavit. Tandem et illud vitae genus locumque deserens, ad montem Antiochiae, qui Niger dicitur, profectus, monasticum vitae genus ibi suscepit, ubi etiam tandem mortuus est. Gerardus a Nazareth capite 12. (Centuria XII, chap. 10, col. 1605)

(from chapter 13)

Ecclesia Baptismatis lavacro mundatos, mox albis induere solet. Gerardus a Nazareth de Conversatione servorum Christi, cap. 13. (Centuria XII, chap. 6, col. 875)

(from chapter 14)

Sigerius abbas Carrariae fuit. Gerard. a Nazar. cap. 14. (Centuria XII, chap. 10, col. 1607)

(from chapter 17)

Bernhardus Blesensis, vir eloquens et zelo iusticiae fervidus, verum non secundum scientiam, cum aliis quibusdam, inter quos nominatur Robertus de Ierosolymis, priorem sibi constituerunt apud Iubinum. Leges in quas iuravit, hae sunt: Ut alienas divitias suscipere strenue re-

September 1188, Conrad of Montferrat laments that "Muri Ierusalem viduati sunt de heremitis habitatoribus suis": Delaville, *Cartulaire*, 1, 531, no. 858.

cusarent. Si quis nobilium aliquot ipsis Bisantios offerret, ut tantum tribus contenti, caeteros renuerent. In primis vero hic Bernhardus suasor extitit, ut stricte inciperent, fore enim ut posteri remissius agerent. Gerardus a Nazareth capite 17. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1605)

(from chapter 18)

Iubinensis coenobii monachi modum vivendi tam sublimi assumpserunt, ut non solum carne et sanguine penitus abstinerent, sed et ovis ac lacte, tribusque hebdomadae diebus solo pane et aqua vescerentur. Reliquis diebus olera cocta seu legumina sumere licitum erat. Pisibus raro, vino rarissime utebantur. Sua cuique cellula. Gerhardus a Nazareth de Conversatione servorum Dei, capite 18. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 6, col. 979)

(from chapter 19)

Prior Iubinensis de rigore monastico nonnihil remittens, oblata dona, ut pecuniam, pastellos, dulcia vina, et similia, non superstitiose fastidiebat. Sed Bernhardus Blesensis et reliqui hypocritae, duriter priorem reprehendunt aliquoties. Cum vero nihil obtinerent, impatiens animo Bernhardus saepius velut oestro concitus, in sylvas excurrit, potius fame periturus, quam rem tam infandam, ut ipse quidem habebat, inspecturus: ac reprehendit istam Bernhardi insaniam etiam Gerardus a Nazareth. Tandem Hierosolymam currit, ibi quoque sua austeritate Balduinum regem secundum nonnihil reformat. Impetrata deinceps a patriarcha potestate discedendi ab illis monachis, qui dona acciperent, dulceque vinum (proh scelus) non aspernarentur, in Machanath propinquum monasterium illi fatui, qui nolebant dulcia vina bibere, divertunt. Sed postea Blesensis redit ad Iubinum coenobium, quod proculdubio istorum persecutionibus factum erat vacuum. Gerardus a Nazareth cap. 19. de Conversatione (*sic*) quorundam servorum Dei. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 8, col. 1230)

The above summary appears under the rubric: Schisma monasticum in Iubinensi coenobio. Another recapitulation of the same chapter appears in continuation of the summary of chapter 17, which deals with Bernard of Blois; unlike the above summary, it is not antagonistic to him at all:

Cumque haec inter illos non essent diurna, omniaque prior, quae offerebantur ad se, recipere, aegre hoc tulit Bernhardus, ita etiam ut non ad iurgia solum deveniretur saepenumero, sed etiam sibi non diutius ibi commorandum existimaret. Idem cap. 19.

Regem Hierosolymorum Balduinum 2 palam insectatus est propter quaedam vitia enormia: quod in eo multi laudarunt. Tandem cum aliis quibusdam absolutus a prioris obedientia, consensu Bernhardi Antiocheni patriarchae² monasterium Machanath, in eodem monte situm, ingreditur, et cuiusdam legati pontificii iussu ibi factus est prior. Idem capite decimonono. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, cols. 1605–6)

(from chapter 20)

Quotidie solitus est [= Bernhardus Blesensis] sese no-

² Bernard of Valence, patriarch of Antioch in the years 1100–1135.

dosa scutica flagellare, honorem scilicet proprio corpori habens. cap. 20.

Daemonium conatus est ejicere homo stolidus, flagris immanissime caedendo obsessum. capite vigesimo. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1606)

Ad monachum quendam novicium a diabolo obsessum, aqua benedicta, crux et corpus Dominicum adferuntur: verum diabolo recedere detrectante, frater ille scutica caeditur (nota modum) sicque tandem liberatur. Gerhardus a Nazareth cap. 20 de Conversatione servorum Dei. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 6, col. 910)

Balduinum regem a Turcis captum visitavit Caesareae,³ et coram tyranno Turcico totaque eius aula de fide Christiana disseruit. Quod cum rex Turcicus aegerrime ferret, dixit porro: Etiamsi eam lanceam cordi meo infigeres, nihilominus tibi veritatem dicturus essem. Ibidem [= cap. 20].

Ad extremum, cum aliquando in genua provolatus oraret, animam exhalavit. capite vigesimo. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1606)

(from chapter 21)

Porphyrius Bernhardo in monasterio Machanat successit. Is facie exili fuit, voce submissa: nudo capite et pedibus, et his quidem non lotis, sed subinde sordidis incessit. Tunica usus est cilicina, et cucullo candido sine manticis. cap 21. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1606)

(from chapter 22)

Ursus illusione quadam diabolica persuasus, Iubini monasterii monachus factus, ita assiduo labore manus attriverat, ut aliud nihil agere valeret. Sacco indutus fuit vilissimo. Nonnunquam sacristae, interdum pistoris officio functus est. Sermone fuit modico contentus, et cibo perexiguo. Ut illud vitae genus susciperet, hac factum est occasione: Cum aliquando variis exerceretur cogitationibus, montis Nigri loca asperiora et remotiora accessit, seque ipsum flagris caedens, continue exclamavit: Domine Deus, inspira et ostende mihi viam in qua ambulem, ubi et qualiter tibi magis placeat ut vivam: Domina mea sancta Maria consule mihi. Atque tunc ipsi dictum fuit, ut Iubinum accederet monasterium: in quo postea proposito confirmatus est a Bernhardo Blesensi, ita ut nunquam se inde discessurum noveret. cap. 22. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1607)

(from chapter 25)

Guilhelmus nobili ortus stemmate, et miles, monachus Machanath factus est: qui caeteris metentibus segetes, ex lacte coagulato caseos premere tentavit, imitatus bubulcam: sed omnino frustra, ita ut oleum et operam perderet: unde Caseatori ipsi nomen inditum est. cap. 25. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1606)

(from chapter 26)

Vuilhelmo Machariatensi [*sic*] monacho animam efflante, pater monasterii per somnum vidit, a latere suo

³ During most of his captivity, Baldwin II was kept at *Cartapeta* (Kharput): Fulcher, *Historia*, III.24.26, ed. Hagenmeyer, 684, 687, 690.

stellam in coelum tolli. Gerhardus a Nazareth cap. 26 de Conversatione servorum Dei. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 13, col. 1753)

Hugo transalpinus, qui militiae gratia terram Sanctam, mari traecto, accesserat, sub Balduino primo⁴ pri-
mum Iubini, deinde in Machanat factus est monachus. Is gravi morbo correptus, monachis carnes offerentibus, neque iuscum neque carnes gustare voluit. In continua invocatione D. Virginis ad extremum animam exhalavit. Cum funus ei fieret, omnes qui advenerant, illusione diabolica mire suavem olfecerunt odorem, ex quo non nulli sese recreatos dicerent. cap. 26. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1606)

(from chapter 28)

Gualterus monachus Machanath, patiens inediae, vi-
giliarum et frigoris fuit, nudis incedens pedibus, in as-
perrimo dormiens cilicio. Pulmentis et vino rarissime usus
est. Nonnunquam diem sine cibo, et noctem sine somno
duxit. Dormiens solitus est Psalmos deblaterare. Flagel-
lando seipsum et flectendo genua, peccata voluit ex-
piare. Idem cap. 28. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1606)

(from chapter 33)

Is [= Haymericus Lemovicensis]⁵ sedulus vitae monasticae promotor fuit, ut Gerhardus a Nazareth testatur. Legem tulit, ne quis in monte Nigro sine maiore inspec-
tore viveret solitarius. Gerhardus capite 33. de Conversat.
servorum Dei. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1373)

(from chapter 34)

Valerius Burgundus miles, ex patria peregrinatus Ierosolymam est: relicta paulo post Ierosolyma, Iubinum migrat, seseque vitae monasticae ibi mancipat. Cumque nondum satis pro acquirenda animae suae salute hoc videretur, locum aspernum, et inde longissime remotum elegit, ubi annis 12 eremitam egit. Bis terve ad eum presbyter e Iubino venit, Missam celebrans, et sacramentum Coenae Domini illi distribuens. Ad extremum, cum aliquandiu a duobus Armeniis pastoribus male esset multatus, qui aurum se apud ipsum inventuros sus-
picabantur, Iubinum revertitur, et post menses duos vel tres animam exhalat. Idem de Conversatione servorum Dei, cap. 34. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1607)

(from chapter 35)

Iohannes monachus Hierosolymitanus mirae fuit abstinentiae, ita ut tribus in hebdomada diebus omnino nihil cibi caperet. Aliquamdiu desertum montis Nigri monasterium incoluit: sed penuria panis adductus, Ierosolymam inde reversus est. Gerard. a Nazareth cap. 35. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1603)

Hugo prior Machanath tribus diebus in hebdomada toto tempore Quadragesimae penitus a cibo abstinuit. capite trigesimoquinto. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1606)

⁴Baldwin I, 1100–1118. If the Centuriators' punctuation transmits Gerard's intention accurately, it would follow that Ju-
bin was founded before 1118.

⁵Aimery of Limoges, patriarch of Antioch in the years 1140–
1193.

(from chapters 36–37)

Radulphus laicus peregrinatus fuerat Ierosolymam. Domum vero redditurus a piratis captus, omnibus rebus spoliatus est. Reversus itaque ad terram Sanctam, factus est opilio. Pascens greges secum oraturus, quod subinde solitus est facere, semper erexit crucem ligneam, eamque aspexit. Deserens postea pedum pastorale, monasterio Carrariensi se mancipavit: inde iterum aufugiens, deser-
tum repetiit. Omnibus is diebus ieunavit, exceptis Domini-
nicis et festis: ter pane et aqua in hebdomada fuit con-
tentus. Ova et lac nunquam, pisces raro edit. Nudus fuit
pedes: ut nunquam febribus careret, a Deo postulaverat,
quod et impetravit. Bernhardo Blesensi admodum exti-
tit charus et familiaris, qui eius consilio interdum usus
est, eo quod fatidicus propheta haberetur. Tandem Im-
peratore Constantinopolitano obsidente Antiochiam,
discessit Tripolim, ubi vitam finivit anno 1142,⁶ reci-
tando hunc versiculum: *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel, qui visitavit et fecit redemptionem plebis suae.*⁷ Ad eius sepul-
chrum postea multis donata sanitas dicitur. Gerhardus a
Nazareth cap. 36 et 37. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1608)

Fertur, ad sepulchrum Ranulphi eremite, qui Tripoli
obiit, temporibus Emanuelis Constantinopolitani Impe-
ratoris, multis redditam fuisse sospitatem. Idem cap.
47.⁸ (*Centuria XII*, chap. 13, col. 1753)

(from chapter 37)

Henricus eremita in valle sancti Nicolai prope Anti-
ochiam in monte Nigro vixit, ubi tugurium sibi fabrica-
tus est, ut ab hominum consortio quam longissime esset
remotus. Nemini penitus quicquam est locutus: sed nu-
tibus tantum quid vellet significavit homo stolidus. Nihil
occisum edit, nec ova quidem: lacte tamen usus est re-
centi. Caput illotum et inpxum fuit, pedes nudi, crura-
que, saepe etiam totum corpus. Idem cap. 37. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1604)

(from chapter 39)

Iohannes monachus Carriae, patria Lucensis, nar-
rare solitus est, quo pacto solus inter densas arbores montis Thabor ad aquae rivulum sederit, et ex improviso homi-
nem nudum, veteri panno obsitum, macilentum, et solis
aestu fuscatum conspexerit. Quem cum multis precibus
et obsecrationibus ad colloquium invitasset, tandem per-
contatus est, quis et cuias esset? Respondit ille, Chris-
tianum se esse, et horrida incolere nemora, ab eo tem-
pore quo Latini cepissent Antiochiam, conspectumque
hominum fugere. Cumque percepisset, adhuc eam in
Latinorum esse potestate, elevatis manibus in coelum, Deo

⁶John Comnenus besieged Antioch in 1137, and in 1142 his
soldiery pillaged the city's neighborhood. Radulph may have left
the region of Antioch during the siege of 1137 and died in Tripoli
in 1142; possibly both events took place in 1142.

⁷Luke 1:68.

⁸An obvious error for "cap. 37," as Radulph and Ranulph
are evidently identical. The reference to Manuel Comnenus,
who became emperor in 1143, conflicts with the above state-
ment that the hermit died in 1142. Whether the mistake goes
back to the Centuriators or to Gerard himself must remain an
open question.

gratias egit, oblatam vestem et panem detrectavit, seque ad sua latibula iterum recepit. Idem cap. 39. (Centuria XII, chap. 10, cols. 1607–8).

B. *Ad ancillas Dei apud Bethaniam*

Bethaniam incolentibus monialibus Gerhardus a Nazareth inscripsit sermonem quendam in octava Paschae. (Centuria XII, chap. 2, col. 11)

C. *Vita abbatis Ebæ*

Elias Grammatices praceptor in Gallia Narbonensi, ius muneri abdicavit, et quorundam suorum familiarium consilio Hierosolymam petiit sub Fulcone rege,⁹ ut ibi loca nativitatis, passionis et resurrectionis Domini illustraret. In itinere ad quoddam eremitarum monasterium divertens, presbyteri ordinem ibi suscepit. Ea vero quum vidisset loca, quorum causa venerat, sese in vasta quadam spelunca prope Hierosolymam una cum suis abdidit. Ubi cum aliquandiu delituisse, monachorum qui vallem Iosaphat incolebant, continuis precibus, et hortatu patriarchae Hierosolymitani victus, istorum se congregationi adiunxit.

Isthinc iterum avocatus, abbas constitutus est cuiusdam monasterii, quod Palmaria dicitur, non procul a Tiberiade, et ab archiepiscopo Nazareno ordinatus est. Inde rursus exemptus a Fulconis regis coniuge, Hierosolymam petiit: ubi cum annos paucos delituisse, ad priorem se dem hortatu Nazareni archiepiscopi revertitur.

Ab eo tempore quo primum factus est eremita, carne, vino, ovis et caseo penitus abstinuit. Quotidie, exceptis Dominicis et festis diebus, ieunavit. Legumina semicruda sine pane cum gaudio sumpsit. Piscibus vero usus est. Vestitus sordidus, pediculis affluens. Lectioni assidue intentus fuit. Inter suos se neque abbatem, neque priorem, praesertim cum in spelunca prope Hierosolymam lateret, nominari passus est. In scripturarum locis, quae aliquid obscuritatis habere videbantur, suorum discipulorum studiose inquisivit sententias.

Sine omni necessitate se periculis objicere voluit, nisi a suis fuisse dehortatus. Nam in Galliis adhuc degens, Hispaniam ingredi statuit, ut Saracenis ibidem fidem Christianam praedicaret. Eodem modo suis autor fuit, ut secum Ascalonem iter facerent, et sese captivos statuerent, ut totidem numero Christianos captivitate liberarent. Sed quia sociorum consiliis facile acquievit, apparet hoc omnino fictum simulatumque in ipso fuisse. Pecuniam oblatam respuit. Seipsum solitus est flagellare, ut profusis lachrymis diu lugeret, si quando hallucinaretur etiam in re vilissima. Vigiliis nocturnis tantopere sese affixit, ut ad mensam sedens obdormiceret saepe, et panis buccella ori ingesta rursus excideret. Habitum et mores monachorum Cistercensium unice adamavit, ita ut suorum unum mitteret Hierosolyma in Gallias, pro adducendo eius ordinis monacho, ex quo omnia quae ad eam sectam pertinerent, addiscere posset. Eamque etiam ob causam suis in Tiberiadis coenobio monachis hortator fuit, ut tali cucullo uterentur. Quod cum illis persuadere

⁹Fulk of Anjou, 1131–1143.

non posset (est enim locus ille alioquin ad Iordanem supra modum calidus, ut eiusmodi habitum detrectarent) illos deserere animum induxit: utque eo onere sublevaretur, Ierosolymitanum patriarcham et Nazarenum archiepiscopum precibus fatigavit. De ambitione solitus est dicere, omnia vita divino auxilio superari posse, unicum hoc illis sese insinuare, qui sanctius præ aliis vivere studerent, et ita quidem ut vix deprehendi possit. Egenis liberaliter dedit, ita ut sinistra manus nesciret quid faceret dextra. Ad extremum anno 1140, praesentibus quibusdam de Ierosolymis monachis, transit ad maiores suos, qui etiam illi funus fecerunt. Caeterum quamvis rigidissime vitam egit, continuam tamen in corde dubitationem circumulit, haec secum subinde meditans: *Terribilis Deus in consulis super filios hominum.*¹⁰ Item: *Nescit homo an amore vel odio dignus sit.*¹¹ Gerhardus a Nazareth in vita eius. (Centuria XII, chap. 10, cols. 1608–9)

Gaufredus claruit circiter annum 1140 in monte Thabor, familiaris Eliae abbat, qui Gerhardo a Nazareth eiusdem amicitiam conciliavit. In vita Eliae. (Centuria XII, chap. 10, col. 1603)

D. *De una Magdalena contra Graecos*

Graeci nonnulli affirmarunt, Mariam Lazari sororem, non fuisse eam quae dicta est Magdalena. Contra Latini asseruerunt, eam fuisse illam ipsam Mariam Magdalenam, et non aliam.

Hac de re Gerhardus a Nazareth episcopus Laodicensis tractatum scripsit atque edidit, in quo asseverat, Mariam Magdalenam unam tantum esse foeminam in Evangelica historia, et eam quidem esse sororem Lazari. idque probat his rationibus:

1. Quia si Maria Magdalena non esset soror Marthae, ab Evangelistis distingueretur accuratius, sicut Iudas alter ab Iscariote discernitur. Brevitatis autem gratia, et quia notatum fuit, cognominis non semper fit mentio.
2. Quia soror Marthae semper pene circa pedes Christi versatur, ut testatur historia: pedes Christi rigat et ungit, resuscitato Christo ad pedes se demittit, eum tactura. Vel ex hac, inquit, nota cognosci Maria Magdalena satis potest.
3. Idem Ambrosius sentit, cum inquit: *Quis unquam cognoscere potuit, quanta virtutum itinera duxerit, haud dubium quin Dominus, dum largum sanguinis fluxum siccat in Martha, dum daemones pellit ex Maria, dum quatriduanum resuscitat Lazarum?*¹² His verbis innuit, sororem Lazari Mariam illam esse, quam Marcus Magdalenam nominans, septem daemonia dicit habuisse. Quamvis ille pater, quod et ipse Gerardus annotat, dubitat, an plures Mariae Magdalene eiusdem nominis

¹⁰ Psalms 65:5.

¹¹ Ecclesiastes 9:1.

¹² Cf. *Sermo de Salomone*, PL. 17, col. 721D: “... dum largum sanguinis fluxum siccat in Martha, dum daemones pellit ex Maria, dum corpus redivivi spiritus calore constringit in Lazaro.” A. C. Vega argues persuasively that this tractate was written by Gregory of Elvira: “*Nuevos tratados de Elvira*,” *España sagrada*, 56 (Madrid, 1957), 36–55. Migne’s text is reproduced on pp. 57–64, with the relevant passage appearing on p. 63.

fuerint.¹³ Sed Augustinus contra sentit, unicam fuisse Mariam Magdalenam: quam sententiam una cum omni pene Latinorum Ecclesia autor ait se complecti.

4. Narratio Iohannis id ipsum testatur: "Erat," inquit, "quidam languens Lazarus a Bethania, de castello Mariae et Martha sororis eius. Maria autem erat, quae unxit Dominum unguento, et extersit pedes eius capillis suis."¹⁴ Hoc dicens Iohannes attestatur Lucae, qui hoc in domo pharisaei Simonis factum esset (sic) narravit. Iam itaque hoc Maria fecerat. Quod autem in Bethania rursum fecit, aliud est, quod ad Lucae narrationem non pertinet, sed pariter narratur a tribus aliis Evangelistis. Quod ergo Matthaeus et Marcus caput Domini perfusum unguento illo dicunt, Iohannes autem pedes: non solum caput sed et pedes Domini accipiamus perfudisse mulierem, et prius pedes. A capite quippe nobis ordinate consuli agnoscimus: sed ordinate etiam nos a pedibus ad caput ascendimus.¹⁵

5. Hieronymi sententiam concordat Gerardus cum Augustini, quia reprehendat Hieronymus eos qui duas Marias Magdalenas ponunt. ac tandem sic ratiocinatur: Cum ergo iuxta fidem Evangeliorum, quatuor fuisse Marias tantummodo asserat, necesse est ut soror Lazari, quia etiam ipsa Maria vocatur, earum una sit. Aut itaque soror Lazari erit ea quae Magdalena cognominatur, aut quaelibet trium reliquarum. Sed nullam earum sororem Lazari fuisse, aliquis doctor exposuit. Matrem quippe Domini, aut eius materteras, nemo unquam probare poterit sorores Lazari fuisse. Non solum enim Maria Cleophae, sed et Maria Iacobi, ut fertur, Domini materteras fuit. Restat igitur, ut Maria Magdalena soror Lazari fuisse credatur, aut Hieronymo, quatuor tantummodo Marias fuisse dicenti, contradicatur.

6. Gregorius in Homiliis inquit: *Quam Lucas peccatricem mulierem, Iohannes Mariam nominat, illam esse Mariam credimus, de qua Marcus septem daemonia eiecta fuisse testatur.*¹⁶ Dicat adhuc apertius, *Maria Magdalena, quae fuerat in civitate peccatrix, amando veritatem, lavit lachrymis maculas criminis, etiam vox veritatis impletur, qua dicitur: "Dimissa sunt ei peccata multa, quia dilexit multum."* Nam venit ad monumentum, etc.¹⁷

7. Beda ait: *Primo apparuit Dominus Mariae Magdalena flenti ad monumentum: postea etiam eidem et aliis Mariae, regredientibus nunciare discipulis.*¹⁸ Item idem: non dubitandum, quin ipsa sit mulier, quae, sicut Lucas refert, quondam peccatrix ad Dominum cum alabastro venit unguenti. Eadem est ergo mulier: sed ibi pedes solummodo Domini prona ungebatur. Hic autem et pedes ungere, et ad caput quoque ungendum

¹³ See note 21 *infra*.

¹⁴ John 11:1-2.

¹⁵ Augustine, *De consensu evangelistarum*, II.79, ed. F. Weierich, CSEL, 43 (Vienna and Leipzig, 1904), 261-63 (here considerably abbreviated).

¹⁶ Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, II.33, PL, 76, col. 1239C. The allusions are to Luke 7:37, John 11:2, and Mark 16:9.

¹⁷ *Homiliae in Evangelia*, II.25, PL, 76, col. 1189B (here slightly abridged). The quotation is from Luke 7:47.

¹⁸ Bede, *Homilia Evangelii*, II.8, ed. D. Hurst, CChr, 122 (Turnhout, 1955), 237 (here slightly abridged).

se non dubitavit erigere.¹⁹ Idem ait Anselmum adstruere.²⁰

8. Latinitas novit unam, unius festum colit.

Obiectio sic diluit: Primum, si soror Lazari Maria diceretur Magdalena, hoc cognomine ab Evangelista Luca vel Iohanne designaretur soror Martha. R[esponsio]. Non est sufficiens probatio, quia nec Marthae agnomen exprimitur. Deinde fuit mulier nota, ut non semper necesse fuerit cognomen addere. Praeterea utitur inversione: Quia, inquit, non distinguitur, itaque eadem est.

Secunda obiectio a nomine: Magdalena a Magdalo appellatur. Sed Maria soror Lazari habitabat Bethaniae. R. Infirmissimam esse probationem hanc: quia potuit alibi nasci, et alibi habitare.

Tertia obiectio: Ambrosius duas Magdalenas videtur asserere. R. Augustinus dissentit. Praeterea Ambrosius per Fortasse dubiam ponit sententiam: *Si plures*, inquit, *Mariae, plures fortasse et mulieres.*²¹

Quarta obiectio: Hieronymus dissentit. R. Posset conciliari Hieronymus, non eandem secundum immutationem vitae, eandem vero secundum identitatem personae dixisse. Sed in ultimo libro contra Iovianum (sic) duas ponit.²² Verum ipse Hieronymus se declarat in epistola ad quaestiones Edibiae: *Maria Magdalena, inquit, sola sola sola et cum altera sive cum aliis mulieribus memor beneficiorum, quae in se Dominus contulerat, ad sepulchrum eius frequenter cucurrit: et nunc adoravit quem videbat, tunc flevit quem quaerebat absentem. Licit quidam duas Marias Magdalenas ex eodem vico Magdalo fuisse contendant, et alteram eam esse, quae in Matthaeo eum vidit resurgentem, alteram quae in Iohanne eum quaerebat absentem. Quatuor autem fuisse Marias, in Evangelistis legimus. Unam matrem Domini Salvatoris, alteram materteram eius, quae appellata sit Maria Cleophae; tertiam Mariam, matrem Iacobi et Ioseph: quartam Mariam Magdalenam.*²³ Ergo consentit Augustino, et in sequentibus duas Magdalenas asserentium sententiam reprobavit.

Quinta obiectio: Origenes dissentit. R. Praeferimus Origeni Ambrosium et Augustinum. Rectissime autem Gerardus inquit: Non est in hac re valde perniciosus error, unde et aliter atque aliter credi sine magno periculo potest. Bonum tamen est, si fieri potest, ut non modo de hac, sed et de omni controversia quod verius est, vel verisimilius, hoc teneatur. Gerardus a Nazareth in tractatu de Maria Magdalena. (Centuria XII, chap. 8, cols. 1230-33)

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, II.4, 209-10.

²⁰ Cf. Anselm of Canterbury, *Oratio ad Mariam Magdalenam*, PL, 158, cols. 1010-12; Anselm of Laon, *Enarrationes in Matthaeum*, PL, 162, cols. 1466-67.

²¹ "Ergo si plures Mariae, plures fortasse etiam Magdalene." Ambrose, *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam*, X.153, ed. M. Adriaen, CChr, 14 (Turnhout, 1957), 389-90.

²² Jerome, *Adversus Jovinianum*, II.29, PL, 23, col. 340BC.

²³ Jerome, *Epistola 120 (Ad Hedybiam)*, ed. I. Hilberg, CSEL, 55 (Vienna and Leipzig, 1912), 483 (slight changes in wording). It is noteworthy that Jerome's view on the four Marys, as expressed in the *Epistola ad Hedybiam*, is also quoted in a manuscript which once belonged to the church of Sidon: Vat. lat. 1345, fol. 29v.

E. Contra Salam presbyterum

Hanc sententiam [de Maria Magdalena] postea defendit Gerardus peculiari libello contra Salam presbyterum: qui Laodiceam veniens, inspectoque tractatu Gerardi, insigni fastu refutationem ebuccinavit. Sed cum esset indoctus et insulsus, iactaretque sesquipedalia verba, quae inepie proferebat: ideo Gerardus literatior, et tertiiori lingua praeditus, illum Salam, nihil salis eruditum habentem, egregie depectit, positis primum Salae verbis, deinde sua refutatione. Pauca tantum verba Gerardi de Salae scripto annotabimus. Sic inquit: Cum huius Salae scripta legere me cogit necessitas, videor mihi quasi picem vel aliquid glutinosum impeditis dentibus mandendo trans-

glutire vix posse. Nam ut in Job legitur: Nunquid insulsum edi potest, quod non est sale conditum?²⁴ Libro titulus inscriptus est: *Defensio Gerardi Laodicensis episcopi contra Salam presbyterum.* (*Centuria XII*, chap. 8, col. 1233)

Sala presbyter iamdudum dedicare coemiteria praesumpsit, quod episcopalis est dignitatis: ut Gerhardus de Nazareth in defensione contra Salam presbyterum scribit. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 6, col. 923)

Sala presbyter fuit, contra quem pugnavit Gerardus a Nazareth, objiciens illi, quod coemiterium dedicare praesumpserit, cum illud sit tamen episcoporum. Item quod Graecum episcopum contra Latinum in civitatem introduxerit. Gerard. a Nazareth in defensione contra Salam. (*Centuria XII*, chap. 10, col. 1380)

²⁴Cf. Job 6:6: "Aut poterit comedи insulsum, quod non est sale conditum?"

Icelanders in the crusader kingdom of Jerusalem: a twelfth-century account

by Benjamin Z. Kedar and Chr. Westergård-Nielsen

None of the preceding centuries left behind as many descriptions of Palestine as did the twelfth. Chroniclers of the crusades, from Fulcher of Chartres at the beginning of the century to Ambroise at its close, refer at length to the country which the crusading armies set out to conquer. The establishment of the crusader kingdom of Jerusalem, and the ever greater availability of naval transportation to the Levant, drew more Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land, many of whom wrote accounts of their travels. Christians from the West constituted the majority of pilgrims and itinerary writers, but by no means were they the only ones. In the *itineraria* literature of the twelfth century, the Eastern Orthodox church is represented by Daniel the Higume-ne, who made his pilgrimage in 1106-07 and wrote his account in Russian, and by Joannes Phocas, the Byzantine soldier-turned-monk, who visited the country in 1177 and recorded his impressions in his native Greek. The itineraries of two Jewish travellers, Benjamin of Tudela, Spain, who passed through the crusader kingdom around 1168, and Petaḥya of Regensburg, Germany, who visited the Holy Land a decade later, were written in Hebrew, while those of 'Ali of Herāt, a Muslim of Persian origin who in 1173 "did sojourn in Jerusalem for some season during the days of the Franks in order to understand their ways and the manner of sciences," and Ibn Djubayr, a Muslim from Granada who in 1184 passed through Galilee on his way back from Mecca, were set down in Arabic.¹

To this array of Latin, Old French, Greek, Russian, Hebrew, and Arabic descriptions one should add two Old Icelandic accounts, which students of the crusades have not yet adequately utilized even though the texts were translated into Latin over 150 years ago.² Both accounts have been preserv-

¹ For a list of medieval descriptions of Palestine see R. Röhricht, *Bibliotheca geographica Palestinae*, 2nd edition, ed. D.H.K. Amiran (Jerusalem, 1963), pp. 8-158. The passage from 'Ali of Herāt appears in Guy le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (London, 1890), p. 208.

² The first edition of the texts, accompanied by a Latin translation, appears in E.C. Werlauff, *Symbolae ad geographiam medii aevi ex monumentis islandicis* (Copenhagen, 1821), pp. 15-32, 56-59. Another Latin translation appears in C.C. Rafn, ed., *Antiquités russes d'après les*

ed only as parts of a medieval miscellany of geographical matters. The first begins with a detailed enumeration of the stopping-places along the routes that led from Iceland to Rome, dwells at considerable length on the churches and other landmarks of *Rómaborg*, and then mentions the stages from Rome to Jerusalem.³ It proceeds to what seems, in comparison with the detailed description of Rome, a rather rudimentary depiction of the Holy City and its environs, indicates the number of days required to cover the distance from the banks of the Jordan to Acre and from there – via Apulia, Rome, and the Alps – to Álaborg, Denmark, and concludes with the statement that “leiðarvísir sjá ok borgarskipan ok allr þessi fróðleikr er ritinn at fyrirsögn Nikolás ábóta, er bæði var vitr og viðfrægr, minnigr ok margfróðr, ráðviss ok réttorðr, ok lýkr þar þessi frásögn” (this guide-book and list of towns and all this knowledge are written at the dictation of Abbot Nikolás, who was both wise and widely known, of good memory and of much knowledge, his mind well settled and his words truthful; and here ends this account).⁴

The date of Nikolás’s pilgrimage is not stated, but internal evidence indicates the *terminus ad quem* of his sojourn in the Holy Land.⁵ For Nikolás remarks that Ascalon “stendr á Serklandi ok er heiðin” (lies in Serkland

monuments historiques des Islandais et des anciens Scandinaves (Copenhagen, 1850-52), II, 407-15, 417-20. The texts were critically edited by K. Kålund, *Alfræði íslenzk* (Copenhagen, 1908), pp. 12,16 – 23,21, 24,17 – 31,6. For a Danish translation see K. Kålund, “En islandsk vejviser for pilgrimme fra 12. århundrede,” *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* 1913, pp. 54-61. – A few items of the descriptions of the Holy Land were utilized by P. Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages des Scandinaves en Terre Sainte au temps des Croisades* (Paris, 1865), pp. 80-88, and by T. Tobler, *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae* (Leipzig, 1874), in his apparatus to the itineraries of Johann of Würzburg and of Innominatus VII.

* ³ The passages describing the routes from Iceland to Rome were translated into English and discussed in detail by F.P. Magoun, Jr., in his articles: “The Rome of Two Northern Pilgrims: Archbishop Sigeric of Canterbury and Abbot Nikolás of Munkaþverá,” *Harvard Theological Review*, XXXIII (1940), 277-88; “Nikulás Bergsson of Munkaþverá, and Germanic Heroic Legend,” *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XIII (1943), 210-18; and “The Pilgrim-Diary of Nikulás of Munkaþverá: The Road to Rome,” *Mediaeval Studies*, VI (1944), 314-54, with an exhaustive bibliography on pp. 350-54. For an Italian translation of Nikolás’s description of Italy, see M. Scovazzi, “Il viaggio in Italia del monaco islandese Nikolás,” *Nuova rivista storica*, LI (1967), 358-62.

⁴ All quotations from the Icelandic accounts are taken from Appendices A and B.

⁵ Since Nikolás designates Bethany as a “castle,” one is tempted to establish also a definite *terminus a quo* for his visit. According to William of Tyre, Queen Melisende caused, about 1144, to be built at Bethany “a strongly fortified tower of sturdy and polished stones” for the protection of the hitherto exposed locality: William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, ed. A.A. Beugnot and A. Le Prévost in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Occidentaux*, I (Paris, 1844), 699. If this were the only relevant source, one would assume that Nikolás visited Jerusalem after 1144. However, a papal letter of 1128 already mentions a *castellum* at Bethany: H. E. Mayer, “Die Gründung des Doppelklosters St. Lazarus in Bethanien,” in his *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem* (Stuttgart, 1977), p. 375 (Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Band 26).

(i.e., the realm of the Saracens) and is heathen). Now, as the army of the Kingdom of Jerusalem laid siege to Muslim Ascalon on January 25, 1153, and since the city surrendered on August 12,⁶ it is plausible to assume that Nikolás left the kingdom, at the latest, with the spring sailing of 1153.⁷ Two Icelandic abbots by the name of Nikolás are known to have lived about that time: Nikolás Bergsson, poet and second abbot of the Benedictine house of Munkaþverá in northern Iceland, who died in 1159 or 1160, and Nikolás Sæmundsson, second abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Þingeyrar, also in northern Iceland, who went abroad in 1153, returned to Iceland in 1154, and died in 1158. The available evidence does not allow for definitively determining which of the two dictated the account of the pilgrimage to Rome and Jerusalem; it has usually been ascribed to Nikolás Bergsson⁸ – but the two Abbots Nikolás may well be the same person.

Nikolás Bergsson (according to other sources: Bergþórsson or Hallbjarnarson) was the author of the *Jóansdrápa postola* and of the *Kristsdrápa*, of which poems tradition has only left some few stanzas (Finnur Jónsson, *Skjaldedigningen*, I, A, p. 560, B, pp. 546-7). An anonymous poem, *Leiðarvísan*, a drápa in 45 stanzas about what happened on Sundays throughout the Bible (see footnote 43), cannot be ascribed to Abbot Nikolás, but is doubtless influenced by the same clerical circles as those to which Nikolás belonged. In stanza 43 the author tells us that the drápa was made on the advice of a priest Rúnólfur, obviously Rúnólfur Dálksson, who was a priest in western Iceland in 1143 and died after 1170.

The same Icelandic miscellany which contains Abbot Nikolás's account brings also, shortly afterwards, a most detailed description of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, as well as of other structures in and around the Holy City. C. C. Rafn, one of the two nineteenth-century translators of the Icelandic text into Latin, assumed that this description originated with one of the Icelanders who, according to the Icelandic Annals, left for Jerusalem in 1292.⁹ This assumption is, however, hardly tenable. In the first place, the annals do not state that Icelanders left for the Holy Land in

⁶ William of Tyre, pp. 794, 813.

⁷ At any rate, the reference to Saracen Ascalon disposes of Kålund's assumption (*Alfræði íslensk*, p. XIX) that Nikolás's voyage took place in 1154; see *Flateyjarbók*, ed. by Guðbrandur Vigfusson and C.R. Unger, Chria 1860-68, III, Annálar, p. 515: 1154: "Vtkuoma Nichulas abota" (Abbot Nikolás's return).

⁸ Finni Johannaei *Historia ecclesiastica Islandiae*, IV (Copenhagen, 1778), 30-31, 41; E. Magnússon, "Benedictines in Iceland," *Downside Review*, XVI (1897), 176, 262; Finnur Jónsson, *Den oldnorske og oldislandske Litteraturs Historie* (Copenhagen, 1920-23), II, 113; *Íslenskar æviskrár* (Reykjavík 1948-52), III, 488. – It should be noted, however, that both Rafn (*Antiquités russes*, II, 395) and Riant (*Expéditions*, p. 80) regarded Nikolás Sæmundsson as the author of the itinerary.

⁹ Rafn, II, 416.

1292; they only note that, in the wake of the fall of Acre in 1291, some Icelanders had taken the cross.¹⁰ Since the taking of the crusade vow did not lead in very many instances to its fulfilment,¹¹ one may doubt – in the absence of further evidence – whether the Icelanders who took the cross in 1292 really left for Jerusalem. Secondly, the detailed description of Jerusalem contains four passages which could not have been written by a Christian visitor of the late thirteenth century:

- (a) The description of the interior of the Dome of the Rock, accessible to Christians only during the crusader occupations of Jerusalem in the years 1099 to 1187 and 1229 to 1244.
- (b) The statement that the light descends in the church of the Holy Sepulchre on Easter Eve “ef kristnir menn hafa borgina” (if Christian people rule over the town). The statement is contrary to fact since the “Holy Fire” did descend on Holy Saturday both before and after the crusader occupation.¹² However, only at a time when Jerusalem was in Christian, i.e. crusader, hands, and pre-crusader conditions were no longer clearly remembered, could such an erroneous observation have been made. At any other time, the statement would fly in the face of the well-known fact that also under Muslim rule did the “Holy Fire” materialize.
- (c) The mention of the existence of a “nunnuklastr” (convent of nuns) at Bethany. This convent was founded in 1143 on the initiative of Queen Melisende, and sacked in 1187 by the troops of Saladin, on the eve of the Muslim reconquest of Jerusalem.¹³
- (d) The reference to the crusader-built Canons’ Choir of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as being “kórr utanverðr” (outer choir). The crusader Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which brought under one roof the Sepulchre itself, Calvary, the Chapel of St Helena, the Grotto of the Finding of the Cross, as well as the newly added Canons’ Choir, was consecrated on July 15, 1149. Hence, the description of the new element as an “outer choir” suggests that the writer was in Jerusalem a relatively short time after the completion of the crusader edifice, when the ancient components still served as main points of reference.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 382.

¹¹ See, for instance, J.A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison, Wis., 1969), pp. 130-131.

¹² See note (f) to text B, below.

¹³ For the probable date of the convent’s foundation see Mayer, “Die Gründung,” pp. 387-90; on the sack of 1187 see *De expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum Libellus*, ed. J. Stevenson (Rolls Series, 66; London, 1875), p. 240.

The evidence thus points to the conclusion that this detailed description of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, like the itinerary of Abbot Nikolás which only sketchily depicts that sanctuary, dates from the middle years of the twelfth century. Indeed, it may not be too far-fetched to assume that this description also originated with the abbot, and that it is a variant version of that part of his itinerary which deals with Jerusalem and its environs.¹⁴ That possibility notwithstanding, in the following discussion a distinction will be made between Nikolás's itinerary proper and the variant description of Jerusalem. The part of Nikolás's itinerary which deals with the crusader kingdom appears in Appendix A; the variant description of Jerusalem forms Appendix B; while Appendix C contains an Icelandic description of the Holy Land taken from the fourteenth-century *Kirialax saga*. In the latter text, however, the phantasy of the saga-writer has so obviously embroidered on the variant description of Jerusalem, that it may be judged as being of minor historical interest.¹⁵

The account of Abbot Nikolás, on the other hand, is a document of some importance for the history of the period, as it throws light on the conception of the Holy Land by a traveller whose cultural background is quite different from that of the other twelfth-century Europeans who left accounts of their pilgrimages, and it includes a few factual statements which have no parallels in the other itineraries. Nikolás's frame of reference is definitely Nordic. Speaking of northern Italy, he mentions the hospice which King Erik the Good of Denmark established to the south of Piacenza during his 1098 pilgrimage to Rome.¹⁶ The Gulf of Adalia, so he says, is called Átals-fiord by the Scandinavians; later he mentions a bay – “þann köllum vér Anþekju-fjörð” (which we call Anthekio-fiord). He notes the existence of a garrison of *væringjar* in the Cypriot town of Beffa, i.e., Paphos; this, incidentally, is the only evidence of the presence of Varangian guardsmen in Byzantine Cyprus.¹⁷ Nikolás also relates that it was in Beffa that Erik, “bróðir Knúts ins helga” (brother to Canute the Holy), died. He hastens to add that King Erik “lagði fé til í Luku, at hverr maðr skyldi drekka vín ókeypis at ærnu af danskri tungu” (had supplied provisions to *Luka* (=Lucca) so that each Danish-speaking man could drink gratuitous wine in sufficient quantities),

¹⁴ It is noteworthy that Paul Riant regarded the catalogue of Constantinopolitan relics, which appears in the same Icelandic miscellany, as the work of Nikolás, even though the catalogue does not form part of his itinerary: P. Riant, *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae* (Geneva, 1877-78), I, pp. CCV-CCVI; II, 213-216.

¹⁵ A few details of the account which appears in the saga – like the etymology of the name “Jordan” – have no equivalents in Abbot Nikolás's description, but are derived from *Stjórn*.

¹⁶ Magoun, “The Pilgrim-Diary,” p. 350; Scovazzi, p. 359. Cf. Riant, *Expéditions*, p. 59.

¹⁷ Cf. G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus* (Cambridge, 1940-52), I, 266.

and reiterates that the king had built a hospice south of Piacenza.¹⁸ Nikolás also has some knowledge of the fact that King Erik obtained papal permission to establish an archbishopric in Denmark, so as to free the Danish church from submission to the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen. However his assertion that “honum veitti Paschalis papa at færa erkistól af Saxlandi í Danmörk” (Pope Paschal permitted him (= King Erik) to move the archbishop's seat from Saxland to Denmark) is somewhat inexact: the permission had been granted by Pope Urban II, and Paschal II's elevation of Lund to the status of the archbishopric of the North occurred in 1104, a year after Erik died on his pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Nikolás's next Scandinavian allusion is still more inaccurate: Jaffa, he states, was conquered for Christendom by “Baldvini Jórsala konungr ok Sigurðr konungr Magnússon Norðr konungr” (Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, and King Sigurd Magnusson, King of Norway). Now, as is well known, Jaffa was evacuated by the Muslims in June 1099 more than a year prior to Baldwin I's coronation as king of Jerusalem and about eleven years before Sigurd I Jorsalafarer appeared in the crusader kingdom; and the city which Baldwin and Sigurd conquered together, in December 1110, was Sayda, the biblical Sidon.¹⁹ Thus, Nikolás's standards of exactitude fall quite short of those of Ari the Learned, the father of Icelandic historiography, who about 1125, entered in his *Íslendingabók* that “Á því ári enu sama obiit Paschalis secundus páfi fyrr en Gizurr byskup ok Baldvini Jórsalakonungr ok Arnaldus patriarcha í Híerúalem ok Philippus Svíakonungr, en síðarr et sama sumar Alexius Grikkjakonungr; þá hafði hann átta vetr ens fjórða tegar setit at stóli í Miklagarði” (in that same year [1118] died Pope Paschal the Second, earlier than bishop Gizur, and Baldwin King of Jerusalem, and Arnald Patriarch of Jerusalem, and Philip King of the Swedes; and later that same summer Alexius King of the Greeks died, after he had occupied the throne of Miklagarth for 38 years).²⁰

Nikolás's preoccupation with matters Scandinavian becomes all the more apparent when one notes that his mentions of Kings Erik and Sigurd are the only references to historical events which appear in his Palestinian itinerary.

¹⁸ The same details, as well as an account of Erik's death at “Basta”, Cyprus, appear in the thirteenth-century *Knytlinga saga*: Carl af Petersens and Emil Olson, eds., *Sögur Danakonunga* (Copenhagen, 1919-25), pp. 173, 194 also, *MGH.SS.*, XXIX, 285-86, 290. – Paphos was probably an important harbour at the beginning of the twelfth century. Not only King Erik stopped there on his way to the Holy Land; so did, in 1102, the pilgrim Saewulf: A. Rogers, ed., *Relatio de peregrinatione Saewulfi ad Hierosolymam et Terram Sanctam, in Palestine Pilgrims' Texts Society*, IV, part 2 (London, 1896), p. 33.

¹⁹ Nikolás's error has been already noted by Kálund, “En islandsk vejviser,” p. 84.

²⁰ Jakob Benediktsson, ed. *Íslendingabók*, Íslensk fornrit I, 1 (Reykjavík, 1968) p. 25. – The patriarch's name was Arnulf not Arnald. For the dates, see *Fulcherii Carnotensis Historia Iherosolymitana*, II, 63, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Occidentaux*, III, 436 and footnote.

Indeed, Nikolás's interest in Northern affairs is so striking that one may assume that his silence with regard to other Scandinavian relics in the Holy Land is not accidental. Thus, Nikolás refers to the Tomb of the Virgin in the Valley of Josaphat, but not to the grave of Queen Botild, the widow of Erik the Good, who made her way from Paphos to Jerusalem, died on the Mount of Olives, and was buried in the Valley of Josaphat.²¹ One may surmise, therefore, that the location of the Danish queen's grave was no longer known by the time Nikolás visited Jerusalem. Again, Nikolás mentions Bethlehem, "lítill borg ok fögr, þar var Kristr borinn" (a small and beautiful town, there Christ was born), but he does not notice that the paintings of Saint Canute of Denmark – the brother of King Erik – and of Saint Olav of Norway decorate the columns of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem.²² It is therefore plausible to assume that these paintings postdate Nikolás's visit.²³

Nikolás's Scandinavian allusions are not surprising. Other twelfth-century travellers have also stressed, in their accounts of the Holy Land, matters relating to their next of kin. Ibn Djubayr dwells at length on the Muslims of the kingdom; Benjamin and Petahya dedicate a large part of their descriptions of the country to its Jewish inhabitants; Johann of Würzburg, the German cleric who visited the Holy Land around 1165 and attributes German origin to Godfrey of Bouillon, claims that local *detractores nostrae gentis* obliterated the inscription of the tombstone of the German crusader Wigger so as to suppress evidence of the German participation in the crusades, and laments the absence of a German element in the population of the crusader kingdom.²⁴ Nikolás thus shares with these travellers – all foreign to the French-speaking rulers of the country – the tendency to emphasize the presence of their own people in the kingdom, or their connections with it. Yet in one important respect Nikolás does differ from all these writers. The Muslim and Jewish travellers shared religion and language with the Muslims and the Jews of the kingdom; the Byzantines and the Russians were wel-

²¹ On Botild's pilgrimage and death see Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum*, ed. J. Olrik and H. Raeder (Copenhagen, 1931), I, 339; *Excerpta ex Roberti Elgensis Vita Kanutis ducis*, in *MGH.SS.*, XXIX, 9. Cf. Riant, *Expéditions*, pp. 162-63.

²² On the paintings, see B. Bagatti, *Gli antichi edifici sacri di Betlemme* (Jerusalem, 1952), pp. 99-100.

²³ Vincent and Abel believed that the paintings were executed in the days of Raoul, bishop of Bethlehem in the years 1155-1174: H. Vincent and F.M. Abel, *Bethléem. Le Sanctuaire de la Nativité* (Paris, 1914), pp. 175-176. But their reasoning, exclusively based on Raoul's Anglo-Norman origin, is hardly convincing.

²⁴ On Johann see Tobler, *Descriptiones*, pp 153-156; cf. A. Grabois, "Le pèlerin occidental en Terre Sainte à l'époque des croisades et ses réalités: la relation de pèlerinage de Jean de Wurtzbourg," in *Mélanges E.-R. Labande. Études de civilisation médiévale (XI^e-XII^e siècles)* (Poitiers, 1974), p. 374.

come in the Orthodox churches and monasteries of the realm; a German cleric like Johann of Würzburg could use Latin in contacts with the better educated Franks of Palestine. Nikolás, on the other hand, could not expect to find any countrymen of his; and internal evidence suggests that his command of Latin was mediocre. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre he calls the *Pulkro* church – evidently a phonetic rendering of the word *sepulcro* by which fellow pilgrims, or local inhabitants, must have referred to the shrine.²⁵ Again, between *Nepl* (= Nablus) and *Maka Maria* (= Magna Mahomaria, the present-day al-Birā), Nikolás locates “borg, er heitir Casal” (a town called *Casal*) – the Icelander apparently did not know that in the crusader kingdom *casal(e)* meant “village,” and that a large number of crusader place-names consisted of the word *casal(e)*, followed by a Frankish proper name, usually that of the village’s first owner.²⁶

But whenever Nikolás reports details which are based on personal observation, his account should be given credence. Nikolás, quite unlike Johann of Würzburg and other itinerary writers,²⁷ pays attention to striking natural phenomena. Thus he relates that in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre the sun shines down straight from heaven on John’s Mass, i.e., on June 24, the Feast of the Nativity of St John the Baptist. (Consequently it should be understood that on the longest day of the year, when the sun stands at an angle of 81° 30' over Jerusalem rays penetrated the aperture in the conic roof of the Sepulchre.) Later the abbot observes that “út við Jordan, ef maðr liggr opinn á sléttum velli ok setr kné sitt upp ok hnefa á ofan ok reisir þumalfingr af hnefanum upp, þá er leiðarstjarna þar yfir at sjá jafnhá en eigi hærra” (if a man out the Jordan lies on his back on ground and raises his knee and sets his fist on it and stretches his thumb up from the fist, then the polestar can be seen above [the thumb], just so and no higher.) Both observations have no parallels in other sources.

The population of the crusader kingdom, on the other hand, does not seem to have left a vivid impression on Nikolás. The Icelandic abbot, who reports that “Á Saxlandi er þjóð kurteisust” (in North Germany the people are most courteous), and that the women of Siena “eru konur vænstar” (are very good looking women),²⁸ fails to remark on the inhabitants of Jerusalem, whether favourably or otherwise.

²⁵ The form *Pulkro* suggests that Nikolás renders an Italian pronunciation of the word.

²⁶ On *casale* = “village” see J. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (London, 1972), p. 366. For place-names containing the word *casale* see the map of the crusader kingdom by J. Prawer and M. Benvenisti, in *Atlas of Israel* (2nd edition: Jerusalem and Amsterdam, 1970), Sheet IX/10. The map shows a *Casale Dere*, to be identified with the present-day Kh. Ras ad-Deir, about halfway between Nablus and Magna Mahomaria.

²⁷ Cf. Grabois, p. 376.

The peculiarities that characterize the abbot's account are also found in the variant description of Jerusalem. Here, too, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is designated as the *Pulkro* church; and when the writer says that in the church, by the altar, lies the intact hand of Saint Anastasia – an item mentioned by no other source – one gets the strong suspicion that the Icelandic visitor, innocent of all knowledge of Greek, misunderstood a reference to the *Anastasis*, the Greek name of the edifice.²⁹ Again, when the Icelander reports that, in the *Pulkro* church, “þar syngja fyrir annanhvern dag þeir, sem hafa ebreska tíðagerð ok alla síðu, lof guði” (at the start of every other day, those who have the complete Hebrew divine service, praise the Lord), he obviously confuses Hebrew with Syriac, or perhaps even with Greek. Nevertheless, his report indicates that, under the crusaders, Latins and non-Latins alternated daily at the celebration of Lauds in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre – an alternation unknown from other sources.³⁰ The Icelander is also the first Western writer to mention the iron grille the Franks had placed around the rock in the *Templum Domini*, the Dome of the Rock of the Muslims.³¹ In addition, he is the first to relate that the Heavenly Letter – that obscure medieval concoction which called for a strict observance of the Lord's Day – had descended in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, on St Simon's altar.³² And our Icelander counts the steps of staircases, and notes distances between edifices more assiduously than most contemporary itinerary writers. But then meticulous description is the hallmark of Icelandic writers of most ages.

²⁸ Magoun, “The Pilgrim-Diary,” pp. 347, 350.

²⁹ Cf. Rafn, *Antiquités*, II, 417, note c; Kålund, *Alfræði íslenzk*, p. 27, note. Possibly the error was occasioned by the “majus altare in honorem anastaseos, id est sanctae resurrectionis”, mentioned by Johann of Würzburg: Tobler, *Descriptiones*, p. 150.

³⁰ Ekkehard of Aura, who was in Jerusalem in 1101, brings a report by the priest Hermann of the Mount of Olives on the delayed descent of the Holy Fire in that year; the report includes the statement that, in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, first the Latins and then the Syrians use to celebrate Mass: *Frutolfi et Ekkehardi Chronica necnon Anonymi Chronica Imperatorum*, ed. and trsl. F.J. Schmale and Irene Schmale-Ott (Darmstadt, 1972), p. 178 (*Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters*, vol. 15).

³¹ 'Ali of Herât saw the grille in 1173: Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 132. For a description of the grille see C. Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem. Architecture religieuse et civile* (Paris, 1925-28), II, 310-11; III, Figs. 132-34.

³² On the history of the Heavenly Letter see H. Delehaye, “Note sur la légende de la lettre du Christ tombée du ciel,” *Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique. Bulletins de la classe des beaux-arts*, 3^e série, XXXVII (1899), 171-213; G. Graf, “Der vom Himmel gefallene Brief Christi,” *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete*, VI (1928), 10-23; R. Priebsch, *Letter from Heaven on the Observance of the Lord's Day* (Oxford, 1936); W.R. Jones, “The Heavenly Letter in Medieval England,” *Mediaevalia et Humanistica*, N.S., VI (1975), 163-78. – For a seventeenth-century Icelandic version of the letter, and its diffusion in nineteenth-century Iceland, see Delehaye, p. 192.

The longest part of the variant account is dedicated to a detailed description of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The Icelander regards the Church as a single complex, which one enters from the south (see Fig. 1). But he is aware that it is composed of several distinct structures: "stúka, er blóðit kom niðr af krossi dróttins" (the chapel where the blood fell from the Lord's cross (the Chapel of Adam)); the place "þar er stóð kross dróttins" (where the Lord's cross stood (Golgotha)); "Pulkro kirkja" (the Pulchro church (i.e., the edicule which encases the Tomb)); the temple whose roof is open over the *Pulkro* church (i.e., the Rotunda with the truncated roof over it); the outer chapel, east of the *Pulkro* church, around whose altar one can walk (i.e., the crusader-built Choir of the Canons, with its ambulatory); and the Chapel in which the Lord's cross was found (i.e., the Grotto of the Finding of the Cross).

The writer's emphasis lies on the identification of the structures and on the specification of their exact location within the edifice, rather than on relating the traditions connected with them. A comparison with a very short, Latin-written pilgrim-guide of the same period puts in relief this idiosyncrasy of the Icelander's account:

Innominate VII (ca. 1145)

Intra portam tursum ad dextram
est mons Calvariae, ubi crucifixus
erat Dominus; subtus est *Golgotha*,
ubi sanguis Domini cecidit ad
petram. Et ibi fuit caput Adam,
Abraham sacrificium fecit.³³

On the inside of the door, again to the right, is Mount Calvary, where the Lord was crucified. Beneath is Golgotha, where the Lord's blood fell upon the rock. And there was the head of Adam, (and there) Abraham made (his) sacrifice.

Icelandic variant description

Sunnan eru dyrr á kirkju þeirri er
stendr í *calvarie loco*, ok er inn
kemr er til hægri handar stúka, er
blóðit kom niðr af krossi drottins,
ok sér enn á blóðit. Austr af stúk-
unni er berg, ok norðan við berget
er vindr upp at ganga XIX pallar á
berget. Þá er faðms austr frá þar er

From the south there is a door in the church which lies in *calvarie loco*, and when one enters, to the right there is an extended chapel, where the blood fell from the Lord's cross, and one can moreover see the blood. East of the chapel is a rock, and north of the rock

³³ Tobler, *Descriptiones*, p. 100.

stóð kross drottins, þá er hann var píndr, þar er rauf á bergen, ok kom þar ofan blóðit í stúkuna.

is a winding staircase of nineteen steps to walk up to the rock. There is one fathom to the east to the place where the Lord's cross stood when he was tortured; there is a hole in the rock and there the blood came down into the chapel.

It is instructive to note that the Icelandic writer does not mention the name "Golgotha" at all. Neither does he allude to the tradition about Abraham's sacrifice at Golgotha, nor to the legend about Adam's burial on that spot. But he is most careful, both here and elsewhere, to give a clear, simple-worded description of the location of the relics, and of what one should not miss seeing there. Hence his constant preoccupation with distances and directions.

Consequently, one may assume that the writer consciously geared his account to the needs of fellow Icelanders who might follow in his footsteps: strangers in a distant land, well-nigh unable to communicate with its inhabitants, they would fall back on the minute, fathom-by-fathom instructions written in their native tongue. From this point of view, the variant account amounts to an Icelandic Guide for the Perplexed.

Appendices

A. From the itinerary of Abbot Nikolás (AM 194, 8vo), Kr. Kålund, ed., *Alfræði íslenzk* (Copenhagen, 1908), pp. 20.31 – 23.21:

Þa er II degra haf til Kiprar.^a Þar gengr hafsbottn, er Nordmenn kalla Átals-fjord, enn Grickir kalla Gullus (ɔ: Gulfus) Satalie. I Kipr er borg, <er> *Beffa^b heitir, þar er Véringia seta, þar andadiz Eirikr Dana konungr Sveins son brodir Knutz ens helga. Hann lagdi fe til i Luku,^c ath·hverr madr skyldi drecka vin okeypis ath érnu af danskri tungu,^d ok hann lét gera spital VIII milum sudr fra Plazinzoborg,^e þar er hverr madr fèddr. Honum veitti Paschalis papa ath fèra erchistól af Saxlandi i Danmark.

After which there is a two-day sea journey to Kipr.^a There a bay cuts its way in, called Átals-fjord by the Scandinavians, but *Gullus Satalie* by the Greeks. On Kipr lies a town called *Beffa*,^b where there is a garrison of Varangians, where the Danish king Erik Svendsson, brother to Canute the Holy, died. He established a fund in *Luka*^c so that each Danish-speaking man^d should drink as much free wine as he liked, and he had built a hospice eight miles south of *Plazinzoborg*^e, where each man is fed. *Paschalis papa* permitted him to move the archbishop's seat from Saxland to Denmark. From

Fra Kipr er II dégra haf til Acrs-borgar,^a hon [er] a Iorsala-landi. Pa er Chafarnaum, hon het forдум þolomaida.^b Pa Cesarea. Pa er Iaffa, hana kristnadi Baldvini Iorsala konungr ok Sigurdr konungr Magnus son Noregs konungr. Pa er Askalon, hon stendr aa Serklandi ok er heidin. En austr fra Acrs-borg er Syr, þa Seth, þa Tripulis, þa Lic.^c Par gengr inn hafs-botn, þann kóllum ver Anþekio-fiord. Par er Anthiochia i botn-inum, þar setti Petr postoli patriarcha stol sinn. Pessar borgir allar standa aa Syrlandi. Galilea-herath er upp aa land <fra> Acrs-borg. Par er fiall mikit, er Tabor heitir, þar syndiz postolom Moyses ok Helias. Pa er Nazaret, þar kom Gabriel engill til motz vid Mario, ok þar var Cristr fèddur III vetr ok XX. Pa er þorp, er heitir Gilin.^d Pa er Iohannis-kastali, er forдум hét Samaria, þar fanzt heilagr domr Iohannis baptista, þar er Jacobs brunr,^e er Cristr bat conuna gefa ser ath drecka af. Pa er Nepl^k micil borg. Pa er borg, er heitir Casal.^f Pa er Maka Maria.^m Pa er upp til Iorsala-borgar, hon er agièzt borga allra i heimi, of hana er hvetna sungit um alla kristni, þviat þar ser enn stormerki pislar Cristz. Par er kirkia su, er gróf drottins er i, ok stadr sa, er cross drottins stod, þar ser glögt blod Christz á steini, sem ny-blétt sé, ok sva mun æ vera til doms-dags, þar na menn liosi a pascha aptan or himni ofan,ⁿ hon heitir Pulkro kirkia, hon er opin ofan yfir grofinni.^o Par er midr heimr, þar skinn

Kipr there is a two-day sea journey to Acrs-borg,^a which lies in Iorsala-land. Then comes Chafarnaum, which was formerly called Tholomaida.^b Next Cesarea. Then comes Iaffa, which Baldvini, king of Iorsala, and King Sigurd Magnusson, King of Norway, christianized. Next comes Askalon, which lies in Serkland and is heathen. East of Acrs-borg lies Syr, then Seth, then Tripulis, and then Lic.^c There a bay, which we call Anþekio-fiord, cuts its way in. At the farther end of the bay lies Anthiochia, where the apostle Peter placed his patriarchal seat. All these towns lie in Syrland. The district of Galilea is up in the land above Acrs-borg. There lies a high mountain called Tabor, where Moses and Elias revealed themselves to the apostles. Then comes Nazaret, where the angel Gabriel visited Mary, and where Christ lived for 23 years. Next comes a village called Gilin.^d Then comes John's castle, formerly called Samaria, where John the Baptist's relics were discovered; there lies Jacob's well,^e from which Christ asked the woman to give him to drink. Next comes Nepl,^k a large town. Then a town called Casal.^f Next comes Maka Maria.^m The road then ascends to Iorsala-borg, which is the most outstanding of all the towns in the world, sung of all over Christendom, for there still can be seen wondrous testimonies of Christ's suffering. There lies the church where the Lord's grave is, and that place where the Lord's cross stood, where one can clearly see Christ's blood on the stone, as if it had just recently been shed, and it will stay like this until the Day of Judgement; there one receives the light of Easter Eve from Heaven.ⁿ It is called the Pulkro church, and is open up over the grave.^o There is the earth's mid-

a: Cyprus. – b: Paphos. – c: Lucca. – d: i.e., Scandinavian. – e: Piacenza. – f: Acre. – g: Kálund corrects: "Acrs-borg, which lies in Iorsala-land, which was formerly called Tholomaida." – Many contemporaries identified Capharnaum with Shiqmona, at the foot of Mount Carmel: cf. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom*, pp. 206, 294. – h: Tyre, Sidon, Tripoli, Laodicea. – i: *Gallina major* or *Le Grand Gérin* in the crusader sources, which is the present-day Djenin. (For all geographical identifications in the crusader kingdom see the Prawer-Benvenisti map quoted in footnote 26 above.) – j: *Fons Jacob*. – k: Naples, the present-day Nablus. – l: Possibly Casal Dere (see footnote 26 above). – m: *La Mahomerie, Magna Mahomeria*. – n: i.e., the Holy Fire. For references see note (f) to text B. – o: A reference to the *oculus* in the dome. At an earlier point, while describing the Church of All Saints in Rome, Nikolás noted that it was open above like the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem: Magoun, "The Rome of Two Northern

sol iamt or himni ofan of Iohannis messo. Þar er spitali Iohannis baptista,^p sa er rikaztr i öllum heimi. Þa er Davids *turn.^q I Hierusalem er templum domini ok Salomons musteri.^r

I ut-sudr fra Iorsala-borg er fiall þat, er heitir *Syon,^s þar kom enn helgi andi yfir postola, ok þar matadiz Cristr skirdags aptan, ok stendr þar enn bord þat, er hann matadiz á. Fiorar milur sudr fra er Bethleem, litil borg ok fögr, þar var Cristr borinn. Padan er skamt til Bethania kastala, þar reisti Cristr Lazarum af dauda. I landsudr fra Iorsala-borg er vátn þat, er heitir daudasior, þar sökdi gud nidr borgum II Sodoma fyrir handan, en Gomorram fyrir hedan, þar fellr Iordan i gegnum ok blendz ecki vid vótnin, þvíat hon er helgazt vatn. Austr fra borginni^t er fiall, er heitir mons oliveti, þar ste Cristr upp til himna. Aa medal fiallzins olivéti ok Iorsala-borgar er dalr sa, er heitir vallis Iosaphat, þar er grof Mario drotningar. Þa er long stund til Querencium fiallz,^u þar fastadi gud, ok þar freistadi diosfull hans. Par er Abrahams kastali.^v Par stod Hiericho. Par ero Abrahams-veller.^w Þa er skamt til Iordanar, er Cristr var skirdr, hon fellr or landnordri i út-sudr. Par fyrir utan ána er Rabita-land, enn fyrir hedan Iorsala-land, er þeir kalla Syrland. Aa árbackanum stendr ein litil kapella, þar for Cristr af klédum sinum, ok er því kapellan ger til vitnis þes stadar sidan. Ut vid Iordan, ef madr liggr opinn á slettum velli ok setr kne sitt upp ok hnefa á ofan ok reisir þumal-fingr af hnefanum upp, þa er leiparstiarna þar yfir ath sea iafn-ha en eigi héra.

Utan fra Iordán er V daga fór mikil til Akrsborgar, en þádan XIII degra haf á Pul,^x þat er XVIII hundruth milna, enn

point, where the sun shines straight down from heaven on John's Mass. There lies John the Baptist's hospital,^p the richest in the world. There is David's tower.^q In Hierusalem lies *templum domini* and Solomon's temple.^r

South-west from Iorsala-borg lies the mountain called *Synai*,^s where the Holy Spirit descended on the apostles, and where Christ ate on the evening of Maundy Thursday, and where still stands the table at which he ate. Four miles south from there lies *Bethleem*, a small but beautiful town, where Christ was born. From there it is close to the castle of *Bethania*, where Christ raised Lazarus from the dead. South-east from Iorsala-borg is the lake, called the Dead Sea, where God sank two towns, Sodoma on that side and Gomorra on this side; there flows the Jordan, and it does not mingle with the lake's [waters], because it is very holy water. East from the town^t is a mountain called *mons oliveti*, where Christ ascended to Heaven. Between the mountain *olivéti* and Iorsala-borg is the valley called *vallis Iosaphat*, there is Queen Mary's grave. Then there is a long time to the mountain *Querencium*,^u where God fasted and the Devil tempted him. There is Abraham's castle;^v there stood *Hiericho*; there are Abraham's plains.^w Then it is a short way to the Jordan, where Christ was baptized, and which flows from north-east to south-west. There on the other side of the river lies *Rabita-land*, but on this side is Iorsala-land, which they call *Syrland*. On the bank of the river stands a small chapel, Christ undressed there, and therefore a chapel is later built on that place as a testimony. If a man out at the Jordan lies on his back on level ground and raises his knee and sets his fist on it and stretches his thumb out from the fist, then the polestar is to be seen above [the thumb], just so high and no higher.

From the Jordan there is a stiff five-day journey to *Akrsborg*, from there a 14-day sea journey to *Pul*^x this is 1,800 miles; a 14-

Pilgrims," p. 280. – p: *Spitali Iohannis baptista*. – q: The text has *tiorn*, i.e. "tarn." Kålund corrects to *turn*, i.e. "tower." – r: The Dome of the Rock and the Mosque al-Aqsa. – s: Kålund corrects *Synai* to *Syon*, i.e. "Zion." – t: Jerusalem. – u: *Quarantene*. – v: *St Abraham* or *Ebron* of the crusader sources. – w: *Le jardins Abraham*, northwest of Jericho. "Hortus Abraham, in planicie amoena juxta Jordanem." T. Tobler, ed. *Theoderici libellus de locis sanctis (ca. 1172)*

XIII daga ganga ór Baar^x i Roma-borg, litil VI vikna for sunnann til Mundio,^y enn III nordr i Heida-bé.^{bb} Enn ith "vestra"^{aa} llians-veg er IX vikna fór. Sian daga for or Heida-bé i Vebiorg. Þa er Skódu-borgar-aa^{cc} á mid-munda. Ór Vebiorgum er II daga for til Álaborgar. Leidarvisir sea ok borga-skipan ok allr þessi frodleikr er ritinn ath fyrir-sogn Nicholas abota, er bédi var vitr ok vidfregr, minnigr ok margfrodr, ráðvis ok rettordr, ok lykr þar þessi frasogn.

day journey from *Baar*^x to *Roma-borg*, a small six-weeks journey northwards to *Mundio*^y, and three [weeks] north to *Heida-bé*.^{bb} And the Eastern^{aa} route, *llian's way*, is a nine-weeks journey. A seven-day journey from *Heida-bé* to *Vebiorg*. Then is *Skoduborgar-aa*^{cc} midway. From *Vebiorg* there is a two-day journey to *Álaborg*. This guidebook and list of towns and all this knowledge are written at the dictation of Abbot *Nicholas*, who was both wise and widely known, of good memory and of much knowledge, his mind well settled and his words truthful; and here ends this account.

B. Variant description of Jerusalem (AM 194,8vo), Kr. Kålund, op. cit., pp. 26.17 – 31.6 with text supplement in italics from AM 736,I, 4to:

Sunnan ero dyr a kirkju þeiri er stendr i calvarie loco, ok er inn kemr er til h[e]lgri hand[ar] stuka, er blodit kom nidr af k[ro]si drottins, ok ser en a blodit. Austr af stukunni er berg, ok nordan vid ber:gith er vindr upp ath ganga XIX^a pallar á bergit. Þa er fadms austr fra þar er stód cross drottins, þa er hann var pindr, þar er rauf aa bergino, ok kom þar ofan blodit i stukuna.^b Sudr fra þi er fadms til bergrifo þeirar, er sprack bergit fyrir, er drottin skaut af ser cross-trenu þvi [er] hann var krossfestr [á] sidan. [P]ar sudr fra þi vid veggin er altari sancti Simeonis, þar kom ofan brefu gull-ritn[a].^c Vestr fra

From the south there is a door in the church which lies in *calvarie loco*, and when one enters, to the right there is an extended chapel, where the blood fell from the Lord's cross, and one can still see the blood. East of the chapel is a rock, and north of the rock is a winding staircase of 19 steps^a to walk up to the rock. There is one fathom to the east to the place where the Lord's cross stood when he was tortured; there is a hole in the rock and there the blood came down into the chapel.^b There is one fathom southwards to the crevice where the rock cracked, when the Lord pushed the wooden cross away from himself, on which he was later crucified. There in the south by the wall is Saint Simeon's altar; there the gold-written letter came down.^c To the west of the

(St. Gallen and Paris, 1865), p. 69. – x: Apulia. – y: Bari. – z: *Mons Jovis*, meaning the Alps. – aa: Hedeby. – bb: Kålund corrects eystra to vestra. – cc: Skodborgå, i.e. Kongeåen.

a: The so-called Fetellus (c. 1130) mentions 16 steps, Petrus Diaconus (c. 1137) – 17, Theoderich (ca. 1172) – 15; M. de Vogué, *Les églises de la Terre Sainte* (Paris, 1860), Appendix I, p. 412; Petrus Diaconus, *Liber de Locis Sanctis*, in Migne, *PL*, vol. 173, col. 1120; *Theoderici libellus*, p. 28. – For additional descriptions see D. Baldi, *Enchiridion locorum sanctorum* (Jerusalem, 1935), pp. 784-896. – b: Of Golgotha. – c: An Icelandic poem of the twelfth century, *Leiðarvíði*, also mentions the Heavenly Letter, written in golden characters: "bréf gullstófum sollit" (stanza 6) and "bók gullstófum ritin" (st. 7), which descended in Jerusalem, see Finnur Jonsson, ed., *Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigning* (Copenhagen, 1912-15) I, A, p. 619, B, pp. 623-24; Priebsch, *Letter from Heaven*, p. 15. An eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon homily attributed to Archbishop Wulfstan of York states that the Heavenly Letter "wæs awritten mid gyldenum stafum": A. Napier, ed., *Wulfstan. Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien, nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit* (Berlin, 1883), p. 226. See also the opening words of the Latin version of the Heavenly Letter, brought to England in 1201 by Eustace,

kirkiu-dyrum er stuka út i veGinn, ok er þar hónd heilagrar Anastasie med heilu liki hia alltari. I midiu musterinu stendr Pulcro kirkia yfir grof drottins ok gylltir allir turnar.^d Austan^e skal i hana ganga, ok er þa fadms til bergs þess er vellt var af leidsmunnanum, ok ma ganga vñhverbis. Fadms vñstr fra er berg þat, er grof drottins er i. Þa er inn kemr i grofina, er til hñgrí handar steinþro ok marmara steinn yfir. Sudr skal ganga or Pulkro kirkiu. Opit er ofan musterith yfir kirkiunni, þar kemr ofan lios pascha apran, ef kristnir menn hafa borgina,^f á kerti þau er þar standa fyrir. Þar syngia fyrir annanhvern dag þeir, sem hafa ebr[es]ka tida-gerd ok alla sidu, lof gudi.^g Nordr fra Pulkro kirkiu i musteris veggin er stuka, þar ero enn iarn-vidiar, er drottinn

church's door is a chapel out in the wall, and there is holy Anastasia's hand in full flesh by the altar. In the middle of the temple stands the *Pulcro* church over the Lord's tomb, and all the towers are gilded.^d One must enter it from the east,^e and there is one fathom to the rock, which was rolled away from the opening of the tomb, and one can walk around it. One fathom from the west lies the rock where the Lord's tomb is. When one enters the tomb, there on the right hand side is a stone-coffin and a marble stone over it. One must walk towards the south out of the *Pulcro* church. The temple's roof is open to the church, there light descends on Easter Eve, if a Christian people rule over the town,^f on the candles which stand there. At the start of every other day, those who have the complete Hebrew divine service, praise the Lord.^g North of the *Pulcro* church there is a chapel into the temple wall, there are still the iron chains with which our Lord was

abbot of Flay: "Mandatum sanctum Dominicae diei, quod de coelo venit in Jerusalem, et inventum est super altare Sancti Symeonis, quod est in Golgatha." *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls Series; London, 1868-71), vol. IV, p. 167. – Is it possible that the Icelander was influenced here by the sight of the Genoese inscription in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, engraved *litteris aureis* in stone, which glorified Genoa's conquests in the Levant and enumerated its possessions in the crusader kingdom? On the inscription, see *Cafari De Liberatione Civitatum Orientis Liber*, ed. L.T. Belgrano in *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de'suoi continuatori*, I (Genoa, 1890), 121; *Regni Iherosolymitani brevis historia*, ibid., pp. 129, 135. Recently, however, it has been claimed that the inscription never existed and that the references to it were part of a Genoese campaign of falsification: H.E. Mayer and Marie-Luise Favreau, "Das Diplom Balduins I für Genua und Genuas Goldene Inschrift in der Grabeskirche," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 55/56 (1976), 22-95. – d: Daniel the Higumene mentions a small tower on top of the edicule, covered with gilded silver scales: A. Leskien, transl., "Die Pilgerfahrt des russischen Abtes Daniel ins Heilige Land," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, VII (1884), 25. On the other hand, Johann of Würzburg describes the monument as topped by a silver-covered dome: "quasi ciborium rotundum et superius de argento coopertum"; Tobler, *Descriptiones*, p. 148. Taking the descriptions of the Icelander and of Johann at face value, one may conclude that the ornaments of the monument were changed in the time that elapsed between their visits. – e: A few lines later the Icelander reports that one must leave the *Pulcro* church from the south. On the other hand, Theoderich (c. 1172) writes that "ab aquilonali intratur, a meridiano exitur, orientale custodum sepulchri usibus vacatur." (*Theoderici libellus*, p. 11). Did the entry arrangements change between the visits of the two? – f: An obvious error. On the pre-crusader history of the Holy Fire see M. Canard, "La destruction de l'église de la résurrection par le calife Hâkim et l'histoire de la descente du feu sacré," *Byzantion*, XXXV (1965), 16-43. – Matthew of Edessa relates that in 1101-02, after the crusaders had ejected the Eastern Christians from their monasteries, the Holy Fire did not descend as long as the crusaders did not restore the *status quo ante*: *Extraits de la Chronique de Matthieu d'Édesse*, in *RHC, Documents Arméniens*, I (Paris, 1869), 54-55; cf. pp. 61-67. – g: "Hebrew" should be taken to mean "Syriac" or "Ara-

varr var bunndinn med.^h Austr fra Pulkro kirkju er IIII-a fadma til kors utanverdz.ⁱ hann er gjor af steini. Par er ha-alltari i kornum ok dyr vestan aa ok gengit umbergis. Fra horni korsins þi, er til landsudrs veit, er nídr ath ganga i iord XI pallar ok XX^j til s[udr]js, þar er kapella, þar fanzt cross drottins,^k ok ero þar markaðir krossarnir a golfinu á marmara steini sem krossarnir lagu.^l Suðr fra k[ol]rnum er stuka sudr i vegginn austr fra berginu þi,^m er hann var pindr á, i þeiri stendr stolpi sa, er hann var bundinn vid ok bardr, adr enn hann væri pindr ok crossfestr.ⁿ I kornum [aa] bak ha-alltari er seti þat, er menn segia ath drottinn hafi setit i, þa er þorngiordin var dregin á hófut honum, adr enn hann væri crossfestr.^o Dyr ero aa musterino^p bædi austan ok vestan. Vestr fra musterino er kapella, þar hvílir sancta Karitas^q med heilu liki. Templum domini stendr i hafum stad austar enn i midri Iorsala-borg. I midlo musterino stendr berg fadms haatt enn margra fadma vidt, þar segia menn, ath AbraHam hafi færdann son sinn Ysaak i forn gudi, iarn-grinndum er gjorl umhverfis bergit. I musterino er inn stóplar af steini bædi hvitum ok svörtum, raudum ok blám ok grenum. Austr fra Iorsalaborg er mons oliveti. Aa fiallino, þar er hést er, stendr Michaels kirkia. I þeiri stendr berg haatt, þar liggr i steinninn sa er drottinn ste aa, þa er hann ste upp til himna, ok ser spor hins vinstra fotar hans, sem hann hafi berum fæti i leir stigit, XIII

bound.^h There are four fathoms east from the *Pulkro* church to an outer choir,ⁱ it is built of stone. There is a high altar in the choir and a door on the west side, one can walk around. From the corner of that choir, which faces towards the south-east, there are 11 plus 20 steps^j to walk down to the ground facing [south]. There lies a *kapella*, the Lord's cross was found there;^k and the crosses are marked out on the floor on a marblestone quite as the crosses lay.^l South of the choir is a chapel into the wall east of the rock,^m where he was tortured; in this stands the pillar to which he was bound, and where he was beaten, before he was tortured and crucified.ⁿ In the choir behind the high altar is the seat one says the Lord sat upon when the Crown of Thorns was pressed onto his head before he was crucified.^o There are doors in the temple^p both to the east and the west. West of the temple lies a *kapella* where *Sancta Karitas*^q rests in the flesh. *Templum domini* stands in a high position more to the east than in the centre of Iorsala-borg. In the middle of the temple stands a rock one fathom high and many fathoms broad; there people say that Abraham brought his son Isaac as an offering to the Lord; an iron grating is placed around the rock. In the temple are pillars of stone, both white and black, red and blue and green. East of Iorsalaborg lies *mons oliveti*. On this mountain where it is highest stands the church of Michael. In it is a high rock, in which lies the stone on which the Lord trod when he ascended to the heavens, and one can see the imprint of his left foot, as though he had stepped barefoot on clay, 14

bic", or perhaps "Greek". The arrangement is not known from other sources. – h: Probably the "Carcer Domini" (Prison of Christ) mentioned by Johann of Würzburg (*Tobier, Descriptiones*, p. 142) and others. – i: The Choir of the Canons. – j: The writer probably means to say that there were 11 steps to the crypt of St Helena and 20 more to the Grotto of the Finding of the Cross. Theoderich gives 30 and 15 "or a little more" steps, respectively (*Theoderici libellus*, p. 25), and Innominate VII a total of 44 (Tobler, *Descriptiones*, p. 101). – k: The text has "...s"; Kálund completes to s[udr]js. The Grotto of the Finding of the Cross. – l: The Icelandic writer is the only one to bring this detail. – m: Of Golgotha. – n: Cf. Innominate VII: "Ex alio latere ad pedes montis Calvariae est locus et columna, ubi Dominus fuit flagellatus". (Tobler, *Descriptiones*, pp 100-101); Theoderich: "In dextro retro chorum altare decorum existit, in quo pars magnae columnae, circa quam Dominus ligatus et flagellatus est, consistit". (*Theoderici libellus*, p. 26). – o: Not mentioned by Johann and Theoderich, but see the account of Saewulf: "...non longe a carcere columpna marmorea conspicitur ad quam Jesus Christus flagris affligebatur durissimis. Iuxta est locus ubi induebatur veste purpurea a militibus et coronabatur spinea corona". *Relatio Saewulfi*, p. 38. – p: *Templum Domini*? – q: St Chariton, west of

þumlunga langt^r Milli fiallsins ok Hierusalem er Iosafad[s]dalr. Þar er Mario kirkia. Sunnan ero dyr á henne ok IIII pallar ok XL nídr ath ganga i iord aa kirkio-golfit. I utanverdri kirkju stendr altari, ok skamt fra er stein-þro Marie ok hvalf yfir af steini. Þar er Mario-klastr. Nordr fra kirkju er hús, þar hóndlóðu Gydingar drottinn, ok ser þar enn fingra-stadinn i bergino, sem hann stakk vid hóndunum, þa er illmennin hliopo ath honum.^s Bethania-kastali er sunnan undir oliveti, þar er nunnu klastr. Ath þeiri kirkju er leidi Lazari. Fra Hierusalem ero II milur til Bethania, þadan XII milur til Rauda-kastala,^t þadan II milur til Hiericho, [þadan] II til Jordana.

inches long.^r Between the mountain and *Hierusalem* lies the valley of *Iosafad*. There is Mary's church. On the south side of it there is a door and four plus forty steps to walk down to the floor of the church. In the outer part of the church stands an altar and near to that stands Mary's sarcophagus with a lid of stone above. There is the convent of Mary. North of the church is the house where the Jews seized the Lord, and one can still see the fingerprint in the rock which his hand hit when the wicked men ran at him.^s The castle of *Bethania* lies in the south, below *oliveti*, there is a convent of nuns. By the church is the tomb of Lazarus. From *Hierusalem* there are two miles to *Bethania*, from where there are 12 miles to the *Red Castle*,^t from where there are two miles to *Hiericho*, from where there are two miles to the Jordan.

C. Kirialax in the Holy Land (AM 589a, 4 to), *Kirialax saga*, ed. Kr. Kålund (Copenhagen, 1917), pp. 64.6 – 68.1:

[N]u er at segia fra Kirialax, at hann kom sinum skipa flota utan at þeim stad, er Akrsborg heitir, ok leggia þar skipum sinum til hafnar ok setia herbuder sinar á landi. En á audrum degi segir hann sinum monnum, at hann vill upp á landit ganga ok vitia kross drottens ok grafar med nöckurum sinum fremztum monnum, en flest lidit var eptir at giæta skipana. Ok nu sækia þeir til borgarenar. Jorsala borg stenndr á micilli hæd, nær sem fiall se, ok i midri borgen stendr þat micla musteri, er kallat er Pulcro kirkia; hana let reisa hin helga Helena, modir Constantini kongs, sidan er hun <fann> kross drottens. I Pulcro kirkju standa fimm kirkjur adrar: ein er Kross kirkia, þar stendr kross drottens pryddr hinu skiærazta gulli ok allr settr gimsteinum med undarligum ok fá-heurdum hagleik; aunur kirkia er yfir grauf drottens, þar skamt i fra

Now it can be told of Kirialax, that he came with his fleet from the sea to the place which is called Akrsborg, and they brought their ships into harbour there and pitch their war-camp on land. The next day he says to his followers that he will go on land and visit the Lord's cross and his tomb with some of his best men, but the majority of the force remained behind in order to guard the ships. And now they go to the town. Jorsala-borg is situated on a high hill, which is almost a mountain, and in the centre of the town lies the large temple which is called *Pulcro* church; it was built by the holy Helena, King Constantine's mother, after she had found the cross of Christ.

In the *Pulcro* church are five other churches: one is the church of the Cross where the Lord's cross stands, adorned with the most beautiful gold and completely inlaid with precious stones with marvellous and unique skill; another church lies over the

Templum Domini, but north of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. – r: Undoubtedly the Church of the Ascension of the Mount of Olives. The church is not designated by other sources as the "Church of Michael." The Icelander might have been told, however, that the Archangel Michael was destined to slay the Antichrist upon the Mount of Olives. – s: Cf. Tobler, *Descriptio-nes*, p. 138; *Theoderici libellus*, p. 60. – t: *Maldoim v. Castrum Domi*.

er berg eitt X fadma á hvern veg, þar er ein stor bora á bergen, ok stendr þar undir ein kirkia fiaugurra fadma ok XX á golf nidr. I *þessi boru, sem á bergen er, stod kross drottens vors Iesu Kristz, ok nidr i gegnum þa boru rann blodit, ok sá steinn, sem i er altarenu ok undir vard blodráseni, er enn i dag sem nyblætt hafi. Þar stendr Simions kirkia, ok er þar vardveittr hanndleggr hans yfir altari; þar kom ofan bref þat, er sialfr drottin ritadi sinum haundum gullstaufum um hin helga sunnudag; þar hanga iarnrekendr þær, er vor herra Iesus Kristus var bunden med. Þar i Pulcro kirkju stendr kirkia heilagrar Caretas, þar hvílir hun med holldi ok hári ok heilum likama. Þadan skamt i fra er berg eitt, en i því bergi ser stad beggia handa ok allra fingra vors herra Iesu Christi, er hann stakk haundunum vid bergen, þa er illmennen hlupu at honum, svo sem han hefði i leir stungit. I Pulcro kirkju eru pilarar med aullum litum af steini telgdum raudum ok blam, grænum ok gulum, hvitum ok s<v>aurtum. Til vinstri hanndar i Pulcro kirkju er ein stuka, ok i henni stendr stolpi sa, er vor herra var bundin vid, ok þar er vaunndren, er hann var bardr med, ok margir merkiligir hlutir adrir. Fyri nordan <i> Pulcro kirkju standa þau kerti a marmara stolpum, er himneskr elldr kemr ofan hvert ár laugardag fyri paska, ok þan hafa þeir hvert ár sidan. I Pulcro kirkju standa þau þrettan sæti, er vor herra Iesus Kristr sat i ok hans postolar, ok eru þau nu skinandi öll med tanndraudu gulli. Fyri sunnan Pulcro kirkju er Ions spitali, ok hafa þeir forna ok ebrezka alla tida gerd. I austanverdri Iorsala borg stendr templum domini ágiætliga smidat, ok þar stendr sepulcrum Marie. Austan skal i borgina ganga, ok er þar micill kastali yfir borgar hlidi, vestan skal kriupa til *grafar drottens, ok er þar til hægri hanndar sá stori stein, sem eingillen færdi i burt af munna leidisins á upprisudegi drottens. Kirialax ok hans kompanar kaunnudu alla helga stadi i Iorsala borg ok

Lord's tomb; a short distance from here lies a rock ten fathoms square, there is a large hole in the rock, and under this stands a church four-and-twenty fathoms down to the ground. In this hole, which is in the rock, stood Our Lord Jesus Christ's cross, and down through this hole flowed the blood, and the stone, which is in the altar and lies under the flow of blood, is still there today, as though blood had just been shed on it. There lies the church of Simeon and his arm is preserved there over the altar where the letter descended, which the Lord wrote himself with his own hands with golden letters, concerning the Holy Sunday; there hang the iron chains which bound our Lord Jesus Christ. There in the *Pulcro* church lies the church of the holy Caretas, where she rests in flesh, hair and complete body. A short distance from here is a rock, and in that rock one can see the print of both of Our Lord Jesus Christ's hands and all his fingers, when he thrust his hands against the rock that time the wicked, cruel men attacked him, just as though he had pressed them into clay. In the *Pulcro* church are columns of all colours of carved stone, red and blue, green and yellow, white and black colours. On the left in the *Pulcro* church is an extension, in it stands the post Our Lord was bound to, and there is the whip he was whipped with, and many other notable things. Towards the north in the *Pulcro* church stand the candlelights on marble posts, where a heavenly fire descends every year on the Saturday before Easter, and they have received this fire every year since. In the *Pulcro* church stand the thirteen seats, where Our Lord Jesus Christ and his apostles sat, and now they all shine with fire-red gold. South of the *Pulcro* church lies John's hospital, and here they have the ancient and Hebrew complete divine service. In the eastern part of Iorsalaborg lies *templum domini*, excellently built, and there lies the sepulchre of Maria. One must enter the town from the east, and there is a large citadel over the town gate, one must go on one's knees from the west to the Lord's tomb, and on the right hand side can be found the large stone, which the angel removed from the entrance of the tomb on the Lord's day of resurrection. Kirialax and his companions investigated all the holy places in Iorsalaborg and gave much wealth

offrodu miclu goze i hveria capellu. Tvær milur fra borgen stendr fiallit Oleveti. Á ofan verdu fiallinu sá þeir standa eina capellu med Stein giorva, ok foru þeir á fiallit sakir forvitni, ok var þeim þar upp lokin ein hurd i alltarinu, þar sa þeir eirn Stein ferskeyttan, i þeim steini sá þeir spor hins vinstra fotar vors herra Iesu Christi; þar ste hann sidazt nidr, adr hann ste til himins, ok er sem hann hafi i leir stigit, þat spor er þrettan þumlunga langt. Sunnan undir fiallinu er Betania kastali, ok þar er leidi Ladarus, ok voru þar gior til aull merki; hvar vor herra Iesu Christi stod, þa er Ladarus reis af dauda graufini. Sidan helldu þeir i burt þadan tvær milur til borgarenar Hiericho ok þadan til Iordanar. Fyri nedan Hiericho heitir hun Iordan, en þar sem hun sprettr upp, eru tveir brunnar undir fiallenu Libano, heiter þar annar Jor, en annar Dán, en þar sem saman koma árnar, heitir hun lordán.^a En sem þeir koma til lordánar, kasta þeir klædum þrir Kirialax ok Romanus ok Romarik ok svima yfir ána, hefir þat verit átrunadr godra manna, at þeim mætte verda þat til andar heilsu at lauga sig i því sama vatni. Eptir þat hverfa þeir aptur til skipa sinna ok dvaulduzt þar um hrid.

[N]auckrum *daugum sidar byzt Kirialax burt at sigla af Iorsala landi ok snyr sinni ferd til sudralfu veralldar, ok eirnhvern dag sá þeir i háfinu eyiar tvær, þær er þeim synduzt undarligar, þviat um nætr stod af þeim birti micil, af annari hvit, en annari raud. Enn sem þeir kvomu nær eyiunum, voru þær sæbrattar ok luktar haumrum, ok mattu eigi komazt i eyiarnar. Þessar eyiar kallar Ysudorius i sinni bok^b *Chrisen ok Argiren, ok því svo at aunnur hefir i ser svo micla nogt gullz, sem griot er i fiaullum, en aunnur svo micla nogt silfrs, ok þar af vard svo *micil birta loptzins, sem skinandi malmuren gaf af ser.

to each chapel. Two miles from the town lies the mountain *Oleveti*. Up on the mountain they saw a chapel, built of stone, and they went up the mountain out of curiosity, and a door in the altar was opened for them, where they saw a square stone, on the stone they saw the print of our Lord Jesus Christ's left foot; there he took his last step, before he ascended to heaven, and it is as though he had stepped on clay, the footprint is 13 inches long. South of and below the mountain lies the castle of *Bethania*, and there is Ladarus's grave, and there were clearly all the marks where Our Lord Jesus Christ stood when Ladarus rose up from the grave. Then from there they later travelled 2 miles to the town *Hiericho*, and from there to the Jordan. Below *Hiericho* it is called the Jordan, but there where it originates, there are two sources under the mountain *Libano*, the one is called *Jor*, the other *Dán*, but where the two rivers meet, the river is called *Jor-dán*.^a And when they came to the Jordan, these three – Kirialax and Romanus and Romarik – threw off their clothes and swam over the river; it had been the belief of good men that to bathe in the same water could be to one's spiritual health. After this they return to their ships and remain there for some time.

Some days later Kirialax prepares to set sail from Iorsala-land, and on their journey they head towards the southern hemisphere of the world, and one day they saw two islands in the sea, it seemed to them strange, as at night there projected a great light from them, from the one a white light, and from the other red. And when they came near the islands, the land came precipitously down to the sea, and was enclosed by rocks, and one could not land on the islands. Ysudorius calls these islands *Chrisen* and *Argiren* in his book, because there is so much gold in one of them as there is stone in mountains, and so much silver in the other that the shining ore caused a glittering brightness in the air.^b

a: Cf. *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, ed. W.M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911), XIII, 21, 18; *Relatio Saewulfi*, p. 49; Tobler, *Descriptiones*, pp. 174, 185; C.R. Unger, ed., *Stjórn* (Christiania, 1862), pp. 75, 108. – b: "Chryse et Argyre insulae in Indico Oceano sitae, adeo secundae copia metallorum ut plerique eas auream superficiem et argenteam habere prodiderint; unde et vocabula sortitae sunt". *Etymologiae*, XIV, 6, 11; see also XIV, 3, 5; *Stjórn*, p. 69.

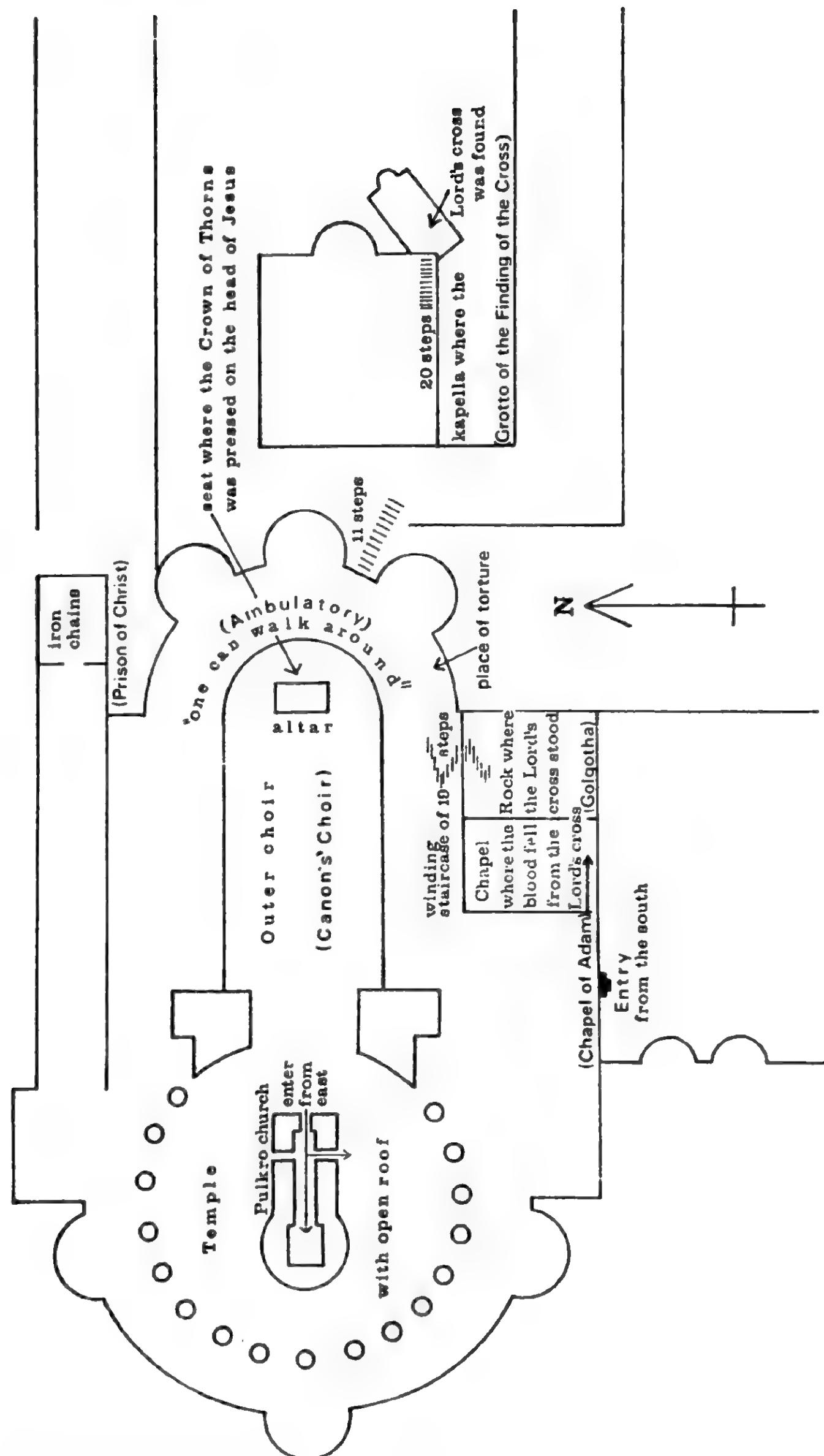


Fig. 1.
The Church of the Holy Sepulchre according to the Variant Description

PALMARÉE,
ABBAYE CLUNISIENNE DU XII^e SIÈCLE,
EN GALILÉE*

Dans un article sur les anciens monastères bénédictins de Terre sainte, publié dans cette revue il y a près d'un siècle, dom Ursmer Berlière a consacré quelques lignes à l'abbaye de Palmarée. Il en ignorait la position. Tout ce qui pouvait le guider était une charte établie à Jérusalem en 1138 dans laquelle *Helyas abbas Palmarie* apparaît comme témoin, une lettre non datée dans laquelle le roi Amaury de Jérusalem accède au vœu du pape Alexandre III de donner Palmarée aux clunisiens, et un fragment de lettre d'Alexandre III également non daté et recommandant les clunisiens à des prélates de Palestine¹. Des historiens contemporains ont étendu nos connaissances sur Palmarée, en particulier Joshua Prawer, qui a joint à la mince documentation concernant l'abbaye un privilège de 1180².

Voici qu'une source que n'avaient point utilisée jusqu'ici les historiens du royaume latin de Jérusalem — un compte rendu de la *Vita* de l'abbé Élie de Palmarée — nous permet de localiser l'abbaye, de décrire ses caractéristiques originelles avec quelques détails et de réinterpréter les documents que connaissaient déjà dom Berlière et ses successeurs.

* *

* L'auteur désire exprimer sa gratitude envers le directeur et les membres, spécialement envers M^{me} Christiane Villain-Gandossi, de l'*Institute for Advanced Study* à Princeton, où cet essai a été rédigé durant l'été de 1982.

1. U. BERLIÈRE, *Les anciens monastères bénédictins de Terre-Sainte*, dans *Rev. bénéd.* 5 (1888), p. 559-560 ; ID., *Die alten Benedictinerklöster im Heiligen Lande*, dans *Studien und Mittheilungen aus dem Benedictiner- und dem Cistercienser-Orden* 9 (1888), p. 489.

2. G. BEYER, *Die Kreuzfahrergebiete Akko und Galilaea*, dans *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 67 (1945), p. 238 et n. 7 ; J. PRAWER, *Colonization Activities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, dans *Rev. belge de phil. et d'hist.* 29 (1951), p. 1110-1111, réimprimé dans son ouvrage *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford 1980), p. 137-138 ; H.E. MAYER, *Ein cluniazensisches Kloster in Akkon*, dans ses *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem* (Schriften der MGH, 26 ; Stuttgart 1977), p. 403-405.

La *Vita abbatis Elie* fut composée par Gérard de Nazareth, évêque de Laodicée aux alentours de 1140. Gérard lui-même était ami d'Élie de Palmarée ; probablement avait-il entendu Élie parler de sa propre jeunesse. L'œuvre de Gérard ne nous est pas conservée, mais un compte rendu détaillé établi durant les années 1560 par les Centuriateurs de Magdebourg en a subsisté³. Ce compte rendu décrit Élie comme un religieux enthousiaste, ressemblant fort aux ermites européens de son temps qui recherchaient la perfection par le moyen de la mortification et s'appliquaient à prêcher l'Évangile aux incroyants⁴. Précepteur de grammaire dans la région de Narbonne, Élie eut un jour le souhait d'aller prêcher le christianisme aux Sarrasins d'Espagne, mais on l'en dissuada. Au cours du règne du roi Foulques de Jérusalem — c'est-à-dire en 1131 ou peu après, — il partit en pèlerinage pour la Terre sainte ; en cours de route, il fut ordonné prêtre dans un « monastère d'ermites » et, après sa visite des lieux saints, il se retira en compagnie de ses disciples dans une grotte non loin de Jérusalem. Il semble y avoir fondé une communauté érémitique semblable à celles qui avaient vu le jour en Europe au XI^e siècle et dont *l'eremitarum monasterium* où il avait reçu les ordres pourrait avoir été un exemple. A l'instar de Pierre Damien qui avait dirigé l'une de ces nouvelles communautés, Élie interdit à ses disciples de l'appeler « abbé » ou « prieur »⁵. Ce fut probablement au cours de son séjour dans cette grotte près de Jérusalem qu'il eut l'idée de s'offrir avec ses disciples aux Égyptiens d'Ascalon, afin d'obtenir la libération d'un nombre égal de chrétiens tenus captifs en cet endroit, mais ses compagnons s'y opposèrent et le plan échoua. En tout cas, la communauté de la grotte ne se maintint pas longtemps. A plusieurs reprises, les moines de Josaphat supplièrent Élie de se joindre à eux ; le patriarche de Jérusalem le pressa également dans ce sens ; finale-

3. MATTHIAS FLACIUS ILLYRICUS ET AL., *Duodecima Centuria ecclesiasticae Historiae* (Bâle 1569), chap. 10, col. 1608-1609. Le compte rendu de la *Vita* est réimprimé et discuté dans mon *Gerard of Nazareth, A Neglected Twelfth-Century Writer in the Latin East. A Contribution to the Intellectual and Monastic History of the Crusader States*, dans *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 37 (1983), sous presse.

4. Sur les ermites occidentaux, voir J. LECLERCQ, *La crise du monachisme aux XI^e et XII^e siècles*, dans *Boll. dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo e Arch. Muratoriano* 70 (1958), p. 19-41, et le volume *L'eremitismo in Occidente nel secoli XI e XII* (Atti della Seconda Settimana Internazionale di Studio, La Mendola 1962 ; Milan 1965).

5. Pour Pierre Damien, voir LECLERCQ, *La crise...*, p. 28.

ment, Élie donna son assentiment et on peut supposer que ses disciples firent de même. Il fut rappelé ensuite du monastère de Josaphat pour exercer la charge d'abbé de *Palmaria*, monastère situé selon Gérard de Nazareth non loin de Tibériade. L'épouse du roi Foulques, la reine Mélissende, le libéra de cette fonction, et il vint à Jérusalem dans l'espoir d'y vivre de longues années ; mais, pressé par l'archevêque de Nazareth, il s'en retourna à Palmarée ⁶.

Jacques de Vitry, évêque d'Acre de 1216 à 1228, rapporte dans son *Historia Hierosolymitana* qu'après la conquête des croisés de 1099 des ermites latins s'établirent dans le désert près du lac de Tibériade : quelques-uns dans la plaine, d'autres non loin de là sur le mont où Jésus avait eu coutume de se retirer pour prier ⁷. Il y a lieu de croire que parmi ces ermites certains avaient formé une communauté à Palmarée et qu'Élie fut appelé à être leur abbé parce qu'on avait entendu dire qu'il avait été à la tête d'une communauté semblable. L'abbaye de Palmarée devait être située près de la ville de Tibériade, comme le suggère le compte rendu de la *Vita abbatis Elie* où l'on trouve les expressions *non procul a Tiberiade* et *in Tiberiadis coenobio* ⁸. Le fondateur de l'abbaye, celui qui aura pris la décision d'appeler Élie, est mentionné dans la lettre susdite du roi Amaury sous le nom de *Gormundus, abbatie [Palmarie] advocatus, patronus et fundator* ⁹ ; il est presque certaine-

6. Pour tous ces détails sur Élie ainsi que pour les suivants, voir le compte rendu de sa *Vita* cité *supra*, n. 3.

7. « *Alii autem ex viris religiosis in deserto illo quod adiacet mari Galileae ... solitariam sibi elegerunt habitationem : quidam in planicie, in qua foenum multum reperitur ex herbis desiccatis ; alii in monte propinquo, in quo Dominus seorsum consueverat orare* » ; Jacques DE VITRY, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, chap. 53, dans *Gesta Dei per Francos* (éd. J. Bongars), t. II (Hanau 1611), p. 1075-1076.

8. Un diplôme établi en 1174 par Eschive de Tibériade fait mention d'une *Parrva* (sic) *Palmeria* ; cf. J. DELAVILLE LE ROULX, *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem*, t. I (Paris 1894), n° 459, p. 315. Beyer pensait que l'emplacement se trouvait à 2 km. environ au nord de Tibériade et qu'une *Magna Palmeria* était située encore plus au nord, près de l'actuelle Migdal (*Die Kreuzfahrergebiete...*, p. 229 et n. 5). Il est néanmoins possible que *Parva Palmeria* était ainsi appelée pour qu'on la distingue de la *Palmeria* ou *Palmarea* située dans la baie d'Haïfa, près de laquelle des chanoines du Saint-Sépulcre avaient obtenu un lopin de terre en 1165. Parmi les témoins d'une charte établie en 1138 par le roi Foulques de Jérusalem, *Helyas abbas Palmarie* figure après l'abbé du monastère du Mont Thabor et avant l'archidiacre de Tibériade ; cf. E. DE ROZIÈRE, *Cartulaire de l'Église du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem* (Paris 1849), p. 62, n° 33.

9. A. BERNARD et A. BRUEL, *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, t. V (Paris 1894), n° 4234, p. 586-587.

ment ce *Gormundus Tyberiadensis* dont témoignent de nombreux documents entre les années 1132 et 1174 et qui devint le maître de Bethsan aux alentours de 1161¹⁰.

Comme abbé de Palmarée, Élie a continué à mener une vie d'austérité, s'abstenant volontairement de viande, de vin, d'œufs et de fromage, pour savourer plutôt les plantes à moitié crues qu'il mangeait sans pain. Il avait coutume de jeûner chaque jour et de se fouetter ; il se mortifiait aussi pour ses futilités passagères ; ses veilles de nuit l'assoupiissaient dans la journée, au point que souvent il s'affalait à table et s'endormait, un quignon de pain lui tombant de la bouche. Il refusait l'argent qu'on lui donnait, et il était généreux envers les indigents. Cependant, l'ancien grammairien continuait à avoir de l'intérêt pour les choses intellectuelles, et il n'eut de cesse d'expliquer à ses disciples des passages obscurs de la Bible. Il entretenait une certaine amitié avec Gaufredus, du monastère du Mont Thabor, où l'on observait les coutumes clunisiennes, mais les coutumes pour lesquelles il éprouvait le plus d'admiration étaient celles de Cîteaux. A un moment donné, il envoya en Gaule un de ses hommes, afin qu'il en ramenât un moine cistercien et que par celui-ci il apprît de première main ces coutumes. Le compte rendu des Centuriateurs, ou peut-être Gérard de Nazareth lui-même, ne précise pas si cette mission fut menée à bien ; on peut supposer qu'elle ne le fut pas, car Bernard de Clairvaux avait à peu près au même moment refusé d'envoyer ses moines au royaume latin de Jérusalem « en raison des incursions païennes et de l'inclémence du temps »¹¹. Quoi qu'il en soit, Élie poussa vivement ses moines de Palmarée à porter l'habit cistercien. Lorsque ceux-ci s'y opposèrent en raison de la chaleur qui régnait dans cette région, Élie décida de les quitter. Cependant, ne pouvant obtenir son congé, ni auprès du patriarche de Jérusalem ni auprès de l'archevêque de Nazareth, il resta. Il mourut à Palmarée, en 1140, en présence de quelques moines de Jérusalem, peut-être d'anciens membres du groupe initial qui s'était formé autour de lui dans la grotte près de la ville.

10. Pour ces documents, voir R. RÖHRICHT, *Regesta regni hierosolymitani* (Innsbruck 1893), n° 142, 293, 325, 336, 338, 344, 355, 366, 368, 400, 413, 416, 448, 449, 450, 452, 466, 514, 517.

11. GAUFRIDI, *Vita S. Bernardi*, III, 22, dans *PL* 185, col. 316 ; BERNARD DE CLAIRVAUX, *Ep. ccliii* (éd. J. LECLERCQ et H. ROCHAIS, *S. Bernardi Opera*, t. VIII, Rome 1977, p. 150). Cf. J. PRAWER, *Histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem*, t. I (Paris 1969), p. 349.

La source suivante recueillie sur Palmarée est la lettre du roi Amaury de Jérusalem à Alexandre III. Elle postdate la mort d'Élie d'une trentaine d'années. Vers cette époque, Palmarée avait connu des temps difficiles. Le roi écrivait dans sa lettre que Palmarée avait été désertée depuis longtemps parce que son ancien abbé, maintenant décédé, en avait dilapidé tous les biens. Il se peut que cette phrase se réfère à Élie, qui, selon Gérard de Nazareth, *egenis liberaliter dedit, ita ut sinistra manus nesciret quid faceret dextra*. Gormond, le fondateur de Palmarée, qui continua à en être l'avoué et le patron, y avait, semble-t-il, introduit un nouveau groupe de moines, mais sans grand succès, car le roi précisait dans sa lettre que l'actuel abbé de Palmarée n'avait pas davantage fait preuve de la sollicitude requise pour rassembler les possessions de l'abbaye¹².

Un nouveau chapitre dans l'histoire de Palmarée commence avec l'arrivée au royaume latin, en 1170 ou peu avant, de Thibaud de Vermandois, prieur de la maison clunisienne de Saint-Arnoult à Crépy-en-Valois. Thibaud, qui allait être abbé de Cluny entre 1179 et 1183 et cardinal-évêque d'Ostie de 1183 jusqu'à sa mort en 1188, était parti pour la Sicile, Constantinople et le royaume latin dans le but de servir les intérêts de Cluny aussi bien que ceux de Louis VII¹³. Le roi de France lui avait confié des lettres de recommandation pour l'empereur Manuel de Byzance et le roi Guillaume II de Sicile ; Thomas Becket, alors exilé en France, l'avait chargé de lettres similaires pour la reine Marguerite de Sicile et pour un clerc de l'Église de Syracuse. Ces lettres témoignent de la haute estime dont jouissait Thibaud¹⁴. Au royaume latin, sa mission remporta un succès considérable. Ayant fait

12. « ... quia ergo locus ille Palmaree jamdudum per abbatem suum jam defunctum dissipatis rebus suis desolatus erat, et nunc denuo ille, qui modo inibi est abbas, non adeo sollicitus in congregandis prout expedit ecclesie rebus est » (BERNARD-BRUEL, *Recueil...*, n° 4234, p. 586).

13. Pour un bref résumé biographique, voir G. DE VALOUS, art. *Cluny*, dans *D.H.G.E.*, t. XIII (Paris 1956), col. 75-76. Thibaud fut également légat pontifical en Allemagne ; cf. ID., *Le monachisme clunisien des origines au XV^e siècle. Vie intérieure des monastères et organisation de l'Ordre*, t. II (Paris 1970), p. 163.

14. Les lettres sont imprimées dans le *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, t. XVI (Paris 1878), p. 149-151 et 408. Leur style identique suggère qu'elles proviennent de la même chancellerie. La lettre à Guillaume II fait remarquer que Thibaud « procurat autem necessitates ecclesiae Cluniacensis in Oriente » (p. 151).

remarquer au roi Amaury que, contrairement à d'autres régions de la chrétienté, Cluny ne possédait aucune filiale dans le royaume de Jérusalem, il persuada celui-ci de fonder un monastère clunisien¹⁵. L'assentiment du roi donna bientôt lieu à un acte légal : en 1170, en présence du roi Amaury, du patriarche Amaury de Jérusalem, des archevêques de Césarée et de Nazareth, ainsi que de quatre autres évêques, l'évêque Guillaume d'Acre établit que Cluny, représentée par Thibaud, aurait le droit de faire bâtir un monastère et une église dans les limites de la paroisse d'Acre, en un lieu que désignerait l'évêque Guillaume et sous des conditions bien précises¹⁶.

Cependant, au cours des années suivantes on n'entendit point parler d'une fondation clunisienne dans la paroisse d'Acre. Il semblerait que Thibaud, ou ses supérieurs, ne furent guère enthousiastes à l'idée d'ériger un monastère aux alentours d'un port aussi séculier qu'Acre et qu'ils préféraient le situer non loin du lac de Tibériade, en un lieu si étroitement lié au ministère de Jésus. Peut-être le pape Alexandre prit-il lui-même la décision ; toujours est-il que, dans une lettre rédigée à Tuscolo le 20 octobre 1171 (ou 1170 ou 1172)¹⁷ et destinée à l'archevêque de Nazareth et aux évêques de Bethléem, d'Acre et de Lydda — tous présents le jour où fut délivré le diplôme d'Acre de 1170, — Alexandre mentionne le fait que Thibaud a réussi à persuader le roi Amaury d'établir une maison clunisienne et, passant outre au diplôme de 1170, enjoint à ses destinataires d'attribuer aux clunisiens le *monasterium de Palmareia*, qui demeurait alors dépourvu de la religion dont il avait brillé dans le passé ; l'archevêque de Nazareth et les trois évêques de

15. « Sane cum dilectus filius noster T[ebaldus], prior de Crispeio, predicte ecclesie monachus, coram karissimo in Christo filio nostro A[malrico], illustri Jerosolimorum rege, prout ejus assertione accepimus, proposuisset quod prefata ecclesia in regno suo, sicut habet in aliis regnis, ecclesiam sue religioni subditam non haberet, et eundem regem super hoc suppliciter et devote ipse, sicut vir pius et clemens et religionis amator, suum ad petitionem ejus animum inclinavit, et quod huic rei placida mente faveret adjecit » (BERNARD-BRUEL, *Recueil...*, n° 4237, p. 590). De cette lettre, dom Berlière a connu la première phrase, citée par dom Mabillon dans ses *Acta Sanctorum O.S.B.*, saec. VI, 1^{re} partie, par. 2, n° 11.

16. L'acte est imprimé dans H. MARRIER, *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis* (Paris 1614), col. 1431-1432. Cf. MAYER, *Ein cluniazensisches Kloster...*, p. 403-404.

17. L'année n'est pas précisée dans la lettre d'Alexandre. Comme il paraît d'après la lettre qu'Amaury était encore en vie, elle a dû être écrite avant que sa mort, survenue le 11 juillet 1174, ne soit connue en Italie. La lettre est datée *Tusculi xiii kal. novembris* ; or les seules années avant 1178 pendant lesquelles Alexandre passa un 20 octobre à Tuscolo furent 1170, 1171 et 1172.

vaient agir en sorte que le monastère appartînt soit à la juridiction de Saint Pierre — formulation qui laisse entendre que le pape supposait que les clunisiens possédaient déjà Palmarée, — soit à l'évêque de Tibériade¹⁸. A peu près au même moment, le pape écrivit aussi au roi Amaury, lui enjoignant d'accorder Palmarée aux clunisiens¹⁹. Il est possible qu'il ait envoyé une autre lettre à l'évêque Raoul de Tibériade, lui aussi témoin du diplôme de 1170. Le roi est le seul dont nous savons qu'il ait répondu. Dans sa lettre, Amaury informe le pape que Gormond, fondateur et avoué de Palmarée — qui a dû se trouver fréquemment en présence du roi, comme l'attestent pas moins de neuf de ses actes²⁰, — a cédé aux vœux du pape. Puis, Amaury demande au pape d'envoyer à Palmarée un abbé ou un prieur ainsi que trois ou quatre moines de Cluny, « afin que les biens attribués pour toujours au service divin ne tombent, par manque de ministres, en possession des séculiers »²¹.

Des clunisiens vinrent en effet à Palmarée. Un acte d'avril 1180 nous apprend que Jean, alors abbé du monastère du Mont Thabor, avait été précédemment prieur de *Palmerium*, *quod et Solinum dicitur*²². Nous avons vu que le monastère du Thabor suivait les coutumes clunisiennes ; il s'ensuit que *Palmerium*, qui fournit un abbé au Thabor, devait également être clunisien. Et comme il est peu vraisemblable qu'il ait existé deux monastères portant des noms semblables dans le même royaume latin — Palmarée assignée aux clunisiens dans les lettres d'Alexandre et d'Amaury, et *Palmerium* dirigé par un prieur clunisien, — nous pouvons conclure que les deux noms recouvriraient un même lieu. Apparemment ce lieu s'appelait, dans le français parlé de cette époque, « les Palmiers », et il se transcrivait en latin soit au féminin, soit

18. BERNARD-BRUEL, *Recueil...*, n° 4237, p. 590-591.

19. On le sait grâce à la lettre-réponse d'Amaury, qui mentionne que « sancti-tatis vestre auctoritas nos scriptis monuit ut ecclesiam Palmaree monachis ecclesie Cluniacensis dare faceremus » ; BERNARD-BRUEL, *Recueil...*, n° 4234, p. 586.

20. RÖHRICHT, *Regesta...*, n° 400, 413, 416, 449, 450, 452, 466, 514, 517.

21. BERNARD-BRUEL, *Recueil...*, n° 4234, p. 587.

22. DELAVILLE LE ROULX, *Cartulaire...*, t. II, p. 908 (chartes du Mont Thabor, n° xix). Comme Garinus était abbé du Mont Thabor le 17 octobre 1175 (cf. E. DE ROZIÈRE, *Cartulaire...*, n° 142, p. 258), Jean a dû lui succéder après cette date et avant avril 1180.

au neutre²³. En résumé, le clunisien Jean qui était prieur à *Palmerium* peu avant 1180 était, selon toute probabilité, le même prieur que celui que le roi Amaury sollicita pour Palmarée à Alexandre au début des années 1170.

Selon l'acte de 1180, Jean avait bâti une nouvelle maison à *Palmerium*/Palmarée lorsqu'il y avait exercé la charge de prieur. Par ce même acte, Ahuhisa, la maîtresse de *Palmerium*/Palmarée, cédait cette maison à Jean en tant qu'abbé du Mont Thabor ainsi qu'aux moines de ce monastère. Ahuhisa leur cédait en plus les maisons qui appartenaient à un certain Frère Pélage, inconnu par ailleurs, toute la propriété située entre ces maisons et la nouvelle maison construite par Jean, jusqu'à la *porta Cayre*²⁴, un four que ne pouvait utiliser que la seule *familia* des moines et, enfin, toute la terre que le susdit Frère Pélage possédait dans la région, à l'exception d'un lopin de terre situé au pied de la montagne et qui revenait vraisemblablement à Ahuhisa. L'acte traite également de deux groupes de colons vivant à *Palmerium*/Palmarée — des *burgenses* dépendant d'Ahuhisa et une *familia* dépendant des moines — et définit les droits de propriété du premier ainsi que la procédure juridique à suivre pour la seconde²⁵.

Ainsi, l'octroi de ces biens et priviléges à l'abbé du monastère du Mont Thabor révèle que, dès 1180 au plus tard, la fondation clunisienne à Palmarée revint au Thabor, la plus ancienne maison clunisienne de la région. Cela reste cependant un octroi étrange. Pourquoi Ahuhisa devait-elle céder à l'abbé Jean la maison de Palmarée que, prieur, il avait construite? Si la terre lui appartenait, à elle, de quel droit, lui, y avait-il d'abord construit cette maison? Et qui était ce Frère Pélage? Il paraît évident, comme le sous-entend Joshua Prawer, qu'il avait été précédemment à la tête de la communauté monastique de Palmarée²⁶. Mais s'il en

23. Cf. PRAWER, *Colonization Activities...*, p. 1110, n. 6; ID., *Crusader Institutions*, p. 137, n. 144. Il semble que déjà dom Berlière a soupçonné que Palmarée et *Palmerium* étaient identiques, car dans sa dernière note touchant Palmarée il mentionne Jean, *olim abbas Palmerii* (*Die alten Benedictinerklöster...*, p. 489, n. 8).

24. Nom inconnu, peut-être en rapport avec l'arabe *khayr* = bon, admirable.

25. Pour une discussion détaillée de ces stipulations, voir PRAWER, *Colonization Activities...*, p. 1111-1114, et *Crusader Institutions*, p. 138-140.

26. PRAWER, *Colonization Activities...*, p. 1112, et *Crusader Institutions*, p. 138.

avait été ainsi, comment se fait-il que les maisons et les terres qu'il avait en sa possession (*possedit*) soient passées aux mains d'Auhisa? Et pourquoi celle-ci n'a-t-elle pas transmis l'entièreté de la terre de Pélage à l'abbé Jean?

Il semble que la clé de ces questions réside dans la phrase finale de l'octroi, laquelle apparaît juste avant la liste des témoins en ces termes :

Hec autem omnia supradicta data et concessa fuerunt in capitulo Montis Thabor, in presentia et testimonio domini Letardi, Nazareni archiepiscopi, et domini Bernardi, Liddensis episcopi, qui tunc eodem die ad Montem Thabor convenabant²⁷.

En effet, l'archevêque Létard de Nazareth n'administrerait pas seulement l'archevêché dans lequel Palmarée était située, et l'évêque Bernard de Lydda n'était pas seulement ancien abbé du monastère du Thabor²⁸; ils étaient en outre tous les deux chargés — ainsi que les évêques de Bethléem et d'Acre, — par la lettre du pape Alexandre III, de veiller à ce que Palmarée devienne une maison clunisienne. Le pape avait prévu l'éventualité selon laquelle un ou plusieurs des quatre prélates ne pourraient assumer la charge²⁹; il était tout naturel que Létard et Bernard — le premier étant le plus immédiatement concerné par cette question, le second étant probablement le plus au fait de celle-ci — agiraient pour l'ensemble des quatre prélates.

Dans sa réponse à Alexandre, Amaury mentionne la possibilité que les biens de Palmarée passent à des séculiers³⁰; l'acte de 1180 donne à penser que ces biens ont été transférés entre les mains d'Auhisa (ou déjà entre celles de son père *Amfossius*, ou encore entre celles de Pierre de *Castello* dont elle était également héritière) et que l'archevêque Létard et l'évêque Bernard l'ont poussée à faire don de la majeure partie de ces biens au monastère du Thabor. En d'autres termes, l'octroi de 1180 semble avoir été, en réalité, un compromis, un acte de restitution, qui laissait entre les mains d'Auhisa une partie de la propriété que possédaient à l'origine les moines de Palmarée. La stipulation selon laquelle la *familia*

27. DELAVILLE LE ROULX, *Cartulaire...*, t. II, p. 909.

28. Pour Bernard, voir R. RÖHRICHT, *Syria sacra*, dans *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 10 (1887), p. 28, n. 3, et p. 39, n. 48.

29. BERNARD-BRUEL, *Recueil...*, n° 4237, p. 591.

30. ID., *ibid.*, n° 4234, p. 587.

des moines serait sous la juridiction de ceux-ci, mais que les aménages iraient au seigneur séculier, est une indication supplémentaire laissant supposer qu'Ahuhisa n'avait pas renoncé à toutes ses prétentions. Par ailleurs, l'érection d'une nouvelle maison par Jean à Palmarée, lorsqu'il y était prieur, donne à penser que les clunisiens considéraient ce lieu comme le leur déjà avant le compromis de 1180.

Après 1180, on n'entendit plus parler de Palmarée. Probablement son existence toucha-t-elle à sa fin après la victoire de Saladin, en 1187, aux Cornes de Hattin toutes proches, victoire qui mit fin à la présence franque dans la région.

The general tax of 1183 in the crusading kingdom of Jerusalem: innovation or adaptation?¹

EARLY in 1183, a general council of the crusading kingdom met in Jerusalem and decided that the growing defence expenditures of the realm rendered imperative the imposition of an unprecedented, extraordinary tax. The full text of the council's decision has been preserved in the chronicle of William, archbishop of Tyre and chancellor of the kingdom at the time, who was appointed a custodian of the proceeds of the tax.²

The incidence of the tax was to be truly universal. All townspeople, regardless of sex, religion, or ethnic origin, all churches and monasteries, all barons, vassals, mercenaries, and peasants were liable. For townspeople, the tax was fixed at one besant for each hundred of movables, and two besants for each hundred of revenue. Those whose assets did not amount to one hundred besants were to pay a hearth-tax of one besant or less. Individual liability was established, in every city³ and in every castle,⁴ by four elected assessors who also collected the tax. Townspeople who challenged the appraisal could declare on oath the true value of their property before the assessors and pay taxes accordingly. The assessors had to swear to keep these declarations in secret. The clergy and the nobility, unlike the townspeople, were taxed only on their revenue: churches, monasteries, barons and vassals had to pay two besants for each hundred of income, mercenaries one for each hundred. However, lords of *casalia* (villages) had to pay, in addition, one besant for every hearth in their possession. They were allowed to reimburse themselves by collecting the sum from their peasants. Enjoined to refrain from imposing a uniform hearth-tax, they had to adjust the levy to the wealth of each peasant.

1. I would like to thank Professors J. Prawer and D. Jacoby, both of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and Dr. R. C. Smail of Cambridge, for their helpful suggestions.

2. William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, xxii. 23, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Occidentaux*, i. 1110-12.

3. 'in qualibet civitate regni', *ibid.* p. 1110. LaMonte and Richard translate *civitas* as 'district' and 'diocese', respectively: J. L. LaMonte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1100-1291* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), p. 181; J. Richard, *Le royaume latin de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1953), p. 75. However, since in a later paragraph of the decree of 1183 occur the phrases *singulis urbibus et castellis* and *singulis civitatibus et castellis* (p. 1112), and since these phrases are undoubtedly equivalent, one has to conclude that, in the context of the decree, *civitas* equals *urbs*. [And see Article VIII, note 48, below].

4. The opening sentence of the decree mentions only the presence of collectors in every *civitas*; however, the paragraph that deals with the conveyance of the proceeds of the tax to the central chests mentions collectors 'qui, ut praediximus, praeerunt singulis urbibus et castellis' (p. 1112). This phrase clarifies the rather vague statement that the collectors should extract the tax 'de civibus, seu habitatoribus civitatum, vel locorum quibus praesunt' (p. 1110): obviously, these *loci* should be identified with the *castella*.

Ever since the days of Comte Beugnot, historians of the crusades have tended to regard the decree of 1183 as a major event in the history of taxation. It has been hailed as the first general or national tax; as the first tax for which people had to assess their own property; and as the first income tax.¹ Moreover, the crusading kingdom has not only been credited with these innovations, but also with serving as a model in this respect for the kingdoms of Europe.² Is it likely, however, that the crusading kingdom, so notorious for its lack of inventiveness and its rudimentary organization of finance, should have initiated a crucial breakthrough in the development of taxation? Or is the form of the 1183 imposition of taxes not as novel as it has been claimed to be?

The sources disclose that precedents for the various features of the tax of 1183 were not lacking. As early as 1124 (or 1125) Emperor Henry V tried 'to make the entire kingdom subject to taxation'. Significantly enough, he was advised to do so by his father-in-law, Henry I of England.³ In 1146, King Louis VII, in preparation for his crusade, imposed a *descriptio generalis* – a general census taken in view of taxation – on the entire kingdom: 'neither sex nor order nor rank exempted anybody from giving aid to the king'.⁴ Again, in 1166, both Louis VII of France and Henry II of England imposed on all their subjects a tax for the relief of the crusading kingdom.⁵ Only the decree of Henry, issued at Le Mans on 10 May 1166 and directed at his continental dominions, is extant.⁶ It is the earliest act establishing a general tax which has been preserved.

The tax of 1183 was not, then, the first general tax. Neither was it the first tax based on self-assessment. Indeed, the primary pro-

1. A. A. Beugnot, 'Mémoire sur le régime des terres dans les principautés fondées en Syrie par les Francs à la suite des croisades', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, xv (1854), 427; LaMonte, pp. 180, 182; J. Prawer, *Histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem*, trans. G. Nahon (Paris, 1969-70), i. 617, and more emphatically in the Hebrew original (3rd ed., Jerusalem, 1971), i. 505. See also Richard, *loc. cit.*

2. LaMonte, p. 182; F. A. Cazel Jr., 'Royal Taxation in Thirteenth Century England', in *L'impôt dans le cadre de la Ville et de l'Etat* (Collection Histoire 13, 1966), p. 105.

3. 'Totum regnum vectigale facere volens'. Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus*, ed. A. Hofmeister in *MGH. Scriptores in usum scholarum* (Hanover, 1912), p. 332. On an earlier, less comprehensive attempt by Henry IV in 1084, see *Annalium Ratisbonensium maiorum Fragmentum*, ed. G. Waitz in *MGH. SS.*, xiii. 48-49. Cf. K. Zeumer, 'Zur Geschichte der Reichssteuern im früheren Mittelalter', *Historische Zeitschrift*, lxxxi (1898), 28-29. (In the separately reprinted edition of Darmstadt, 1955, pp. 11-12.)

4. Radulf de Diceto, *Opera Historica*, ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls Series, 1876), i. 256-7. Cf. A. Luchaire, *Histoire des institutions monarchiques de la France sous les premiers Capétiens, 987-1180* (2nd ed., Paris, 1891), i. 126-8; A. Cartellieri, *Philip II August, König von Frankreich* (Leipzig, 1899-1922), ii. 5-6.

5. *The Chronicle of Robert de Torigni*, ed. R. Howlett in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I* (Rolls Series, 1884-9), iv. 226-7; Radulf de Diceto, p. 329; *Chronicon Petroburgense*, ed. T. Stapleton (Camden Society, xlvi. 1849), p. 3. For the background, see R. C. Smail, 'Latin Syria and the West, 1149-1187', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, xix (1969), 8-12.

6. Gervase of Canterbury, *Opera Historica*, ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls Series, 1879-1880), i. 198-9.

cedure spelled out by the decree of 1183 was not self-assessment at all, but appraisal by four prudent and trustworthy men, elected in every city, and sworn in to proceed in good faith¹ – in other words, assessment by jury. Only appellants were directed to assess their own property on oath.² Now, both self-assessment and assessment by jury were far from new by 1183. The decree of Henry II at Le Mans expressly states that each man should assess his own wealth upon oath, and pay his dues accordingly.³ On the other hand, the use of recognition by jury for the purpose of assessment goes back to the days of the Domesday Inquest. More recently, in 1181, the principle was again applied in England in the Assize of Arms.⁴ That year, the Assize was also extended to the Plantagenet dominions on the continent, and was soon after imitated by Philip Augustus and Philip of Flanders.⁵

Finally, by 1183 there was a precedent for levying a tax on revenue: Henry II's decree of 1166 specifies explicitly the rates due *de redditibus*.⁶ Therefore Le Mans – not Jerusalem – may claim the dubious distinction of being the birthplace of the income tax. The lag of Jerusalem behind Le Mans becomes even more apparent when Henry's decree of 1166 is compared with a measure of taxation adopted that year in the crusading kingdom. For in the kingdom of Jerusalem, too, a tax was imposed in 1166. This tax applied only to those who did not intend to follow King Amalric on his third Egyptian campaign. In other words, it was a payment resembling scutage.⁷

The principles of taxation applied in Jerusalem in 1183, it appears, had already been known in the West for some time. Indeed it seems that the very structure of the decree of 1183 is patterned, to some extent, on a western model. This point can be illustrated by a detailed comparison between the decrees of Le Mans and Jerusalem.

The decree of 1166 opens with the enumeration of the categories of taxable property in general, whereas the decree of 1183 refers

1. William of Tyre, p. 1110.

2. *Ibid.* p. 1111. – LaMonte, p. 181, erroneously believed that self-assessment was the primary procedure.

3. Gervase of Canterbury, p. 199. Cf. A. L. Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta, 1087-1216* (Oxford, 1951), p. 419. For other examples of self-assessment that precede 1183, see W. Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England* (5th ed., London, 1891), i. 627.

4. Assize of Arms, c. 9, in W. Stubbs, *Select Charters* (9th ed.), p. 184. Cf. Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, i. 527, 627-8; S. K. Mitchell, *Taxation in Medieval England*, ed. S. Painter (New Haven, Conn., 1951), p. 90.

5. *Gesta regis Henrici II*, ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls Series, 1867), i. 269-70. Neither the decree of 1166 nor that of 1183 spell out the method for the assessment of revenues. In England, rules for such an assessment appear for the first time in 1201: Mitchell, pp. 132-3. On the possible meaning of *redditus* as a recurring income, see J. F. Benton, 'The Revenue of Louis VII', *Speculum*, xlvi (1967), 90.

6. Gervase of Canterbury, p. 198.

7. William of Tyre, xix. 13, p. 903; Old French translation on p. 904. Cf. LaMonte, pp. 179-80.

first to the categories of taxable property owned by townspeople. But the categories themselves are well-nigh identical: movables (including money), revenues (*de redditibus*), and debts (*de debitibus*) in the decree of 1166, as against money or movables, debts (*in debitibus*), revenues (*de redditibus*) in that of 1183.¹ In the body of the two texts the universal incidence of the tax is stressed: all of Henry's subjects on the continent, all townspeople in the crusading kingdom are ordered to pay their dues according to the established rate, two pence for every pound, and one or two besants for every hundred, respectively.

Immediately following this passage both decrees deal with those individuals whose property does not amount to one unit of assessment, *i.e.* to one pound or to 100 besants. The solution adopted is precisely the same: they have to pay one penny, or one besant, for their house (*domus*) or hearth (*focus*).² It is true that the house-tax of one penny amounts to just one half of the tax paid on a regular unit of assessment in the Plantagenet dominions, while the hearth-tax of one besant is equal to the tax paid on a regular unit of assessment in the crusading kingdom. But this discrepancy is immediately rectified, for the decree of Jerusalem provides that individuals unable to pay a hearth-tax of one besant, should be levied half a besant, or a quarter of a besant, according to their capability. The principle of gradation according to wealth governs, then, both schemes of taxation.

Finally, both decrees state that the proceeds of the tax should be deposited in boxes, each of which was to have three keys. The chest with three locks and three keys might already have become a common expedient at the time.³ It is striking, at any rate, that both decrees refer to it explicitly, and that both of them entrust the three keys both to prominent clergymen and to laymen of the region. There are differences of detail. The Le Mans decree sets up chests in every single church, and confides the keys to the priest and to two trustworthy parishioners. The decree of Jerusalem, on the other hand, establishes two central chests for the entire country – one in Jerusalem, the other in Acre – and entrusts the keys to some of the highest ecclesiastical and lay dignitaries of the realm.⁴ But the principle underlying these stipulations is the same.

Does it follow that the *principes* convening in Jerusalem had before their eyes the decree of Le Mans? Not necessarily. They might have been influenced by the 1166 ordinance of Louis VII, which served as a model for the Le Mans decree, or by the order for England of Henry II, neither of which is extant. But it is well-nigh

1. Gervase of Canterbury, p. 198; William of Tyre, p. 1110.

2. Gervase of Canterbury, pp. 198–9; William of Tyre, p. 1111.

3. LaMonte, p. 182, n. 1.

4. Gervase of Canterbury, p. 199; William of Tyre, p. 1112.

certain that some of the *principes* who met in Jerusalem in 1183 were acquainted with at least one of these interrelated enactments of 1166.

How did the details of the taxation schemes of 1166 become known in the crusading kingdom? It has been argued that there is no certainty that the tax of 1166 was collected at all.¹ If it remained a dead letter, it would be difficult indeed to trace its transmission to Jerusalem. However, there is evidence that the tax was collected. Robert of Torigni, abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel from 1154 to 1186 and a close observer of events both under Henry II and under Louis VII, states not only that in 1166 both kings imposed a tax for the defence of the crusading kingdom, but that one year later they clashed over the identity of the men who were to take to Jerusalem the money 'which had been amassed at Tours'.² He also mentions that Stephen, count of Sancerre, left in 1170 for the Holy Land, 'carrying with him the money that Louis, king of the French, ordered to collect in aid of the Christians of Jerusalem'.³ As Louis' decree of 1166 stipulated that the tax should be levied for four or five years,⁴ it is quite obvious that Stephen carried with him some of the proceeds of the tax which had been imposed in 1166. Stephen, to whom King Amalric of Jerusalem offered his daughter Sibylla in marriage, stayed in the crusading kingdom for a few months.⁵ At the court of Jerusalem and elsewhere, he must have had ample opportunity to refer to the scheme of taxation that had yielded the sums he had brought. The scheme might also have been mentioned by some of the numerous pilgrims, crusaders, merchants, and envoys who went East in the 1160s and 1170s.⁶

The decree establishing the tax of 1183 thus displays features adopted in the West seventeen years earlier. But the decree also mirrors some of the realities of the crusading society. All the previous attempts at general taxation had originated with the monarch. The decree of 1183, however, does not even mention the king of Jerusalem, Baldwin IV the Leper. Only the *principes regni* appear as the initiators of the new measure – an eloquent testimony to the decline of the monarchy and the ascendancy of the nobility in the closing years of the first crusading kingdom.

1. Smail, p. 12.

2. Robert of Torigni, pp. 227, 230. Cf. Cartellieri, ii. 9; J. Boussard, *Le gouvernement d'Henri II Plantagenêt* (Paris, 1956), pp. 430–1.

3. Robert of Torigni, p. 249.

4. The MSS. of Robert's chronicle differ over this point.

5. William of Tyre, xx, 25, p. 988.

6. On the continuous stream of Westerners going east between the second and third crusades, see Smail, p. 3. It should be also noted that Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem in 1183 and one of the custodians of the prospective proceeds of the tax, might have still been in France in 1166. His presence in the crusading kingdom is attested only from 1168 onwards: Cf. R. Röhricht, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani* (Innsbruck, 1893–1904), no. 455, p. 119.

Again, the decree states that the measure has been adopted 'de assensu universae plebis Hierosolymorum'.¹ It is possible that this expression of consent was no more than an act of acclamation. Even so, it had no precedents in the earlier attempts in Europe to impose a general tax.² But was it a mere act of acclamation? The townspeople figure most prominently in the decree of 1183: not only are they the first to be dealt with, but they are also treated most extensively, and they are taxed on their movables as well as on their revenue, whereas the clergy and the nobility are taxed solely on their revenue.³ Consequently, it is conceivable that the consent of the townspeople had been sought as well as received. In any case, the decree of 1183 reveals that even in the days of the first kingdom, before the loss of the bulk of the cultivable land to the Muslims, the onus of taxation fell more heavily on the townspeople than on the other strata of society.

Finally, the repeated reference to the base unit of 100 besants seems to reflect a local custom. Rarely used in the West at this time, this unit recurs habitually in the list of crusading customs duties, as well as in the crusading assize on the lord's ransom.⁴ Hence it is reasonable to assume that the sudden appearance of this unit in the 1185 ordinance of Louis VII and Henry II which established a levy in aid of the crusading kingdom, stems from an acquaintance with the Jerusalem decree of 1183.⁵ Also, the stipulation of the 1183 decree that indigent townspeople should contribute according to their capability a hearth-tax of one besant, half a besant, or a quarter of a besant, may point to some familiarity with the Byzantine taxation system. The Book of Patmos, 1073, sets the combined amount of the ground tax (*sunoné*) and the hearth-tax (*kapnikón*) at one nomisma, half a nomisma, and a quarter of a nomisma, in proportion to the property of the peasants.⁶

While a few features of the decree of 1183 reflect local conditions and customs, the principles, the general layout, and even some of the details of the taxation scheme had been transplanted from Europe.

1. William of Tyre, xxii, 23, p. 1110.

2. Cartellieri, ii. 14. — However, the *populus* was present at the *curia generalis* of Nablus, which established the tax of 1166: William of Tyre, xix, 13, p. 903. Cf. Richard, p. 75.

3. It is true that those clergymen and nobles who possessed *casalia* (villages) had to pay, in addition, the tax of one besant on every hearth, but they were allowed to pass on this tax to their villeins. The townspeople, on the other hand, could transfer neither the tax on movables nor that on revenues.

4. *Livre des Assises de la Cour des Bourgeois*, c. CCXLII, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Lois*, ii. 173-8; *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin*, c. CCXLIX (*ibid.* i. 397): '... les homes sont tenus de foagier leur fies par commun accord, chascun I. bezanz por C.'

5. Mitchell, p. 118; F. A. Cazel Jr., 'The Tax of 1185 in Aid of the Holy Land', *Speculum*, xxx (1955), 387, 390.

6. G. Ostrogorsky, 'Agrarian Conditions in the Byzantine Empire in the Middle Ages', in *Cambridge Econ. History of Europe* ed. M. M. Postan (2nd. ed., Cambridge, 1966), i. 232.

Consequently, the decree of 1183 fits well into the dominant institutional pattern of the crusading kingdom of Jerusalem: adherence to European practices, minimal adaptation to local conditions.

VIII

*THE PATRIARCH ERACLIUS**

Posterity has not been kind to Eraclius, the last Latin patriarch to reside in crusader Jerusalem. Thomas Fuller, in his *Historie of the Holy Warre* of 1639, called him "desperately vicious." In the *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, Pierre Bayle first presented him as "l'artisan de sa fortune," then adduced with obvious relish evidence for the "vie fort scandaleuse" he had led. François-Louis-Claude Marin, an adherent of the *philosophes* who in 1758 published a widely read *Histoire de Saladin*, denounced him as "l'infame Héraclius" and "le Prélat sacrilège." The climax came on April 14, 1783, with the patriarch ascending the Berlin stage as the compleat bigot in Lessing's *Nathan der Weise*; and as if this were not enough, it came to light with the publication of Lessing's private papers that the playwright once recorded his regret for having depicted the patriarch as far less of a villain than he had really been.¹

Judgements passed by most modern historians on the patriarch have been hardly more reserved. Reinhold Röhricht regarded his election as patriarch an

- * The present study, first discussed with Joshua Prawer and R.C. Smail in Jerusalem in 1971, assumed its final shape during a stay at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, in 1981.
- 1. T. Fuller, *The Historie of the Holy Warre*, 4th ed. (Cambridge, 1651), p. 106; P. Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, 3rd ed., 2 (Rotterdam, 1720), 1449, s.v. *Heraclius*; F.-L.-C. Marin, *Histoire de Saladin, sultan d'Egypte et de Syrie*, 2 vols. (The Hague, 1758), 1:309, 2:4; *Nathan der Weise*, IV, 2. Lessing's expression of regret, appearing in *Gotthold Ephraim Lessings sämtliche Schriften*, ed. K. Lachmann and F. Muncker, 22.1 (Berlin and Leipzig, 1915), 114-115, is reproduced in Peter Demetz' fine volume on *Nathan der Weise* (Frankfurt/M, 1966), p. 178. Demetz documents also Lessing's utilization of the German translation of Marin's work.

“unheilvolle Wahl.” For Gustave Schlumberger he was “de triste mémoire” and for René Grousset “un prélat indigne, sans coeur et sans énergie.” Steven Runciman presented him as “a barely literate priest” and Jean Richard—in the original version of his masterful volume on the Kingdom of Jerusalem—as a cleric who was to dishonour the patriarchal throne by misconduct, cowardice and unfortunate participation in internal political struggles. Marshall W. Baldwin summarily dismissed him as “utterly worthless” and, as recently as 1967, Jonathan Riley-Smith referred to him as “the rascally Patriarch Heraclius of Jerusalem.”² Wilhelm Hotzelt provided a dissenting if inaccurate sketch; but because his book was published in Cologne in 1940, and was therefore difficult to consult, that sketch for many years attracted little attention. It is only recently that the patriarch has become the subject of more balanced references and appraisals.³

The patriarch’s age-old notoriety is almost exclusively based on his depiction in the chronicle of Ernoul, the one author who wrote about him at considerable length and was, one should hasten to add, a spokesman for a rival political faction. Ernoul’s original work is not extant, but two adaptations, a longer and a shorter, survive.⁴ The adaptations—both of which give the patriarch’s name

2 R. Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem. 1100-1291* (Innsbruck, 1898), p. 392; G. Schlumberger, *Renaud de Châtillon, prince d’Antioche, seigneur de la Terre d’Outrejordain*, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1923), pp. 181, 265; R. Grousset, *Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem*, 2 (Paris, 1935), 745 (also, 765, 787, 811); Runciman, *Crusades*, 2:425; Richard, *Royaume*, p. 95; M.W. Baldwin, “The Decline and Fall of Jerusalem, 1174-1189,” in K.M. Setton, ed., *A History of the Crusades*, 1 (Philadelphia, 1955, 2nd ed. Madison, 1969), p. 597; J.S.C. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050-1310* (London, 1967), p. 81. The list may be easily prolonged.

3 W. Hotzelt, *Kirchengeschichte Palästinas im Zeitalter der Kreuzzüge. 1099-1291. Kirchengeschichte Palästinas von der Urkirche bis zur Gegenwart*, 3 (Cologne, 1940), pp. 131-139, 162-166; R.C. Schwinges, *Kreuzzugsidologie und Toleranz. Studien zu Wilhelm von Tyrus* (Stuttgart, 1977), p. 33; P.W. Ebdury and J.G. Rowe, “William of Tyre and the Patriarchal Election of 1180,” *English Historical Review* 93 (1978), 25; J. Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, trans. Janet Shirley (Amsterdam, 1979), p. 298, n. 2; and especially R. Hiestand, “Zum Leben und zur Laufbahn Wilhelms von Tyrus,” *Deutsches Archiv* 34 (1978), 359-362 and B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church* (London, 1980), pp. 79-84. The judicious though inexact remark by J.L. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1100-1291* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), p. 34, n. 1, is also worth mentioning.

4 For the account of the patriarch’s election and misconduct in the longer and shorter adaptations see *Eracles* 23.38-39, pp. 57-61 and Ernoul, pp. 82-87, respectively; the despatch of the True Cross is described in *Eracles* 23.29, p. 46 and Ernoul, pp. 155-156. For an attempt at delineating the relationship between the adaptations and the lost original see M.R. Morgan, *The Chronicle of Ernoul and the Continuations of William of Tyre* (Oxford, 1973), especially pp. 133-135.

as Eracle or Eracles—differ on several points. The longer first brings an account of Eracle's election as patriarch, an election which the God-fearing Archbishop William of Tyre attempted to prevent by reminding the canons of the Sepulchre of his misconduct and by adducing the minatory prophecy that an Eracles had brought the True Cross from Persia to Jerusalem and an Eracles was to carry it out of the city to its loss. Then it presents Eracle as a handsome, dissolute man of little learning, who became the favourite of the queen-mother and owed her his successive appointments as archdeacon of Jerusalem, archbishop of Caesarea and, finally, patriarch of Jerusalem. The shorter adaptation, in which the sequence of events is more coherent, starts by presenting Eracle as a native of the Auvergne who came to the East as a poor clerk; nothing is said about his little learning, the queen-mother's infatuation with him is described in somewhat less explicit terms and William of Tyre is portrayed as opposing his election solely on the basis of the prophecy about the two Eraclii.⁵ The longer adaptation goes on to dwell on Pasque de Riveri, the mercer's wife from Nablus who became the patriarch's mistress; to repeat that William of Tyre, knowing about Eracle's misconduct, attempted to prevent his election; and to relate that the patriarch excommunicated William on Mount Zion on a Maundy Thursday. William appealed to Rome asking that Eracle be summoned before Pope Alexander at the council then to be convened, set out for Rome, but was poisoned on Eracle's orders. Eracle himself sailed in the meantime to Marseilles, continued to his native Gévaudan and returned to Jerusalem only upon learning about William's death. In the shorter adaptation, William refuses to pledge allegiance to Patriarch Eracle and appeals to Rome in an attempt to procure his deposition: the excommunication, the

The shorter adaptation is quite lapidary in its description of the Forbelet campaign of 1182 (Ernoul, p. 61) despite the fact, recorded by William, that Baldwin of Ramla and Balian of Ibelin excelled on it: WT 22.16, p. 1094. The Jezreel campaign of October 1183, on the other hand, is described with many a vivid detail and an accent on the deeds of Baldwin and Balian: Ernoul, pp. 98-102. It is therefore plausible to assume that Ernoul entered Balian's service at some point between the two campaigns.

For a discussion of Ernoul's partisanship see the article of R.C. Smail in this volume, pp. 162 ff. above.

5. In their detailed comparison of the accounts of the patriarchal election, Edbury and Rowe ("William of Tyre," p. 8) maintain that in the longer adaptation William assumes that the canons will postulate only one name for royal assent, while in the shorter adaptation his assumption is that they will postulate two. It should be noted, however, that in the longer adaptation William warns of the damage to ensue from the "nōmeement de mei ou de l'arcevesque de Cesaire Eracle" (*Eracles* 23.38, pp. 57-58, MS D)—which seems to be short-hand for "a nomination (by the canons) out of which either I or Eraclius are to emerge victorious," as it is hardly conceivable that William cautioned against his own nomination.

pope's name, the impending council, all go unmentioned, but William is depicted as having been received in Rome with great honour and as having almost secured the deposition. Eracle goes to Rome—not Gévaudan—only after William had died there by poison and only upon his return does he become Pasque de Riveri's lover. While the longer adaptation relates that as the patriarch, the king and the magnates of the realm were once discussing matters of state in the patriarchal palace, a servant burst in and, to the patriarch's embarrassment, announced that Dame Pasque had given birth to a daughter, the shorter adaptation transposes the scene to the more spectacular setting of a council of war, with the uncalled-for messenger explicitly referring to Pasque as to the patriarch's wife. Again, while the longer adaptation states disapprovingly that in 1187 the patriarch excused himself from bringing the True Cross to the army assembled at Saforie, the shorter version, once more using a cruder brush, adds that he was unwilling to part with Dame Pasque. Finally, the shorter adaptation formulates more sharply, and at greater length, the assertion that Eracle's misconduct, and the sins of the clergy who were following his example, brought on the downfall of Jerusalem. (This formulation reached a considerable audience, as Jacques Bongars reproduced it in the preface to the pioneering collection of crusader chronicles he published in Hanau in 1611.)⁶

It is noteworthy that, in utilizing these repeatedly and not uni-directionally diverging adaptations of Ernoul's work, historians have exhibited a tendency to opt at every juncture for the alternative least complimentary to the patriarch's reputation, as if in response to some variety of Gresham's Law. (The prophecy linking the patriarch to Emperor Heraclius of Byzantium, which appears in both adaptations, seems to have influenced, along with humanist norms, the modern spelling of the patriarch's name: at any rate, the overwhelming majority of contemporary historians render it as *Heraclius* despite the fact that the patriarch's seals and letters invariably have *Eraclius*.) Yet the patriarch's portrayal in the Ernoul adaptations should be treated with considerable reserve. The assertion of the longer version that Eraclius—as we now should call him—*po savoit de letres*, is invalidated by a letter of Étienne of Tournai, the decretist and theologian, which indicates that Étienne and Erac-

6 J. Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos* (Hanau, 1611), praefatio, p. C (2); quoted by Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, p. 1450.

7 J. Desilve, ed., *Lettres d'Étienne de Tournai* (Valenciennes and Paris, 1893), no. 78, pp. 92-93 (more readily accessible in PL 211:355, no. 63); RRH no. 455. Étienne's letter, long known to historians of the University of Bologna, was noted but not commented on by R. Röhricht, "Syria sacra," *ZDPV* 10 (1887), 12, n. 14. The letter was utilized by Edbury, Rowe and Hiestand (all in n. 3 above) and, indirectly, by Hotzelt, *Kirchengeschichte*, p. 132.

lius had studied together at the nascent University of Bologna, and by a document of 1168 from Jerusalem in which Eraclius appears as a *magister*.⁷ In the twelfth as in any later century, attendance at a university did not vouchsafe intellectual eminence, but a Bologna-trained master of the 1160's could not have been, comparatively speaking, a man of little learning, much less a barely literate one. Thus the one statement about Eraclius in the Ernoul adaptations which can be independently checked, points to a defamatory intent.

What about the other assertions? More than two decades ago, Hans Eberhard Mayer argued persuasively that the story about William's excommunication and death by poisoning must have been invented by Ernoul.⁸ Indeed, even without Mayer's demonstration that William exercised his archiepiscopal office not long before October 17, 1186 and Rudolf Hiestand's recent discovery that he must have died on September 29 of that year,⁹ excommunication and poisoning should have appeared suspicious in face of the absolute silence of well-informed contemporary European writers who dwell, however, on less spectacular events in the history of the Crusading Kingdom. Further, once the relevant evidence is examined in its entirety, there remains little sinister about the fact that Eraclius did not take the True Cross to the Battle of Hattin, although another supporter of the rival faction, the anonymous author of the *Libellus de expugnatione Terre Sancte*, also criticized him severely on this account.¹⁰ Fulcher of Chartres and William of Tyre mention between them eighteen instances from the years 1101-1179 in which the Cross was carried into a battle or siege: only in eight of these do the chroniclers specify that it was accompanied by a patriarch, in six it was attended by another prelate, while in four the identity of the escorting cleric is not stated.¹¹ Eraclius, who in 1182 was

8 H.E. Mayer, "Zum Tode Wilhelms von Tyrus," *Archiv für Diplomatik* 5/6 (1959/60), 182-201.

9 Hiestand, "Zum Leben," pp. 351-353. Hamilton errs in writing (*Latin Church*, p. 81) that Hiestand has shown that William died in Rome; also, Hamilton accepts Hiestand's dating apparently without realizing that it hinges on Mayer's argument based on the evidence of the *Inventaire Raybaud*, evidence that Hamilton, however, rejects.

10 *De expugnatione Terrae Sanctae libellus*, ed. J. Stevenson, RS 66 (London, 1875) [hereafter cited as *Libellus*], p. 219; on the author's support for Raymond of Tripoli see Prawer, *Histoire* 1:63-64. Hotzelt errs in writing that the *Libellus* claims that Eraclius did not carry the Cross "weil er des Augenlichtes beraubt gewesen sei" (*Kirchengeschichte*, p. 137); it states that he omitted doing so "quoniam lumen oculorum *cordis* jamdudum amiserat."

11 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), pp. 411, 453, 495, 625, 639-641, 648, 665, 736, 746; WT 11.3, 12.12, 12.14, 12.21, 14.26, 16.8, 16.11, 17.2, 17.21, 18.21, 20.19, 20.26, 20.27, 21.22, 21.28, pp. 455, 528, 533, 544, 647, 716, 723, 760, 795, 856, 974, 992, 993, 1042, 1054. In 1177 Patriarch Amalric of Nesle may have been too old to accompany the Cross to the crucial battle of Montgisard; but also at the Battle of Puthaha which Baldwin III waged shortly after Amalric's accession in 1158, the Cross was attended by Archbishop Peter of Tyre rather than by the patriarch. Normally,

with the Cross in the army assembled at the Fountains of Saforie on the eve of the Battle of Forbelet, who somewhat later went with the Cross on a deep raid into southern Syria and in 1183 accompanied it to La Fève in the Valley of Jezreel, and gave the sacrament to the large army which held Saladin in check there, thus followed numerous precedents when in 1187 he had the Cross carried into battle by Bishop Bernard of Lydda—whom he had appointed his vicar in Jerusalem when he left for Europe in 1184—and Bishop Rufinus of Acre.¹² (It may be noted in passing that William of Tyre, unlike Fulcher of Chartres or Peter, an earlier archbishop of Tyre, is not known to have ever been in battle.)¹³

There remain the assertions that Eraclius led a dissolute life, owed his career to the queen-mother's favour and kept a mercer's wife for mistress, assertions which, however, did not receive much publicity in his own lifetime. An earlier patriarch of Jerusalem, Arnulf, in 1116 had to defend himself at the papal court against the charge that he had maintained relations with the wife of one Girardus as well as with a Saracen, who was said to have borne him a son;¹⁴ Eraclius, on the other hand, is described as a *vir sanctus et prudens* by Peter of Blois, a *vir sanctus* by Gerald of Wales, as *vitae sanctitate non inferior* by Herbert of Bosham, with Rigord relating that in 1185 he was received in Paris "as if he were an angel of the Lord." Even Ralph Niger, a critic of "concubinarian" clerics in general, who was scandalized by Eraclius' ostentatious display of riches during his mission to Europe, knows nothing about his alleged

however, it was the patriarch who was expected to carry the Cross *in expeditionem*: *Cartulaire de l'Église du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, ed. E. de Rozière (Paris, 1849), no. 167, p. 302 (a. 1169); no. 166, p. 297 (a. 1170); *Codice diplomatico Barlettano*, ed. S. Santeramo, I (Barletta, 1924), no. 6, p. 21 (a. 1182) [=RRH nos. 469, 474, 616]. Ernoul's remark that in 1187 Guy called on Eraclius to bring the Cross to the army and that Eraclius excused himself (see n. 4 above), points to the same conclusion.

12 WT 22.15, p. 1092 (Fountains of Saforie), 22.20, p. 1103 (raid), Ernoul, pp. 98-99 (La Fève in 1183; see also p. 101, where the chronicler points out that the news of the birth of Pasque's daughter was brought to Eraclius during a council held on that campaign). William of Tyre mentions the presence of the Cross but not of the patriarch on the 1183 campaign: WT 22.26, p. 1119. In face of the insistence of the shorter adaptation on Eraclius' presence there, and of William's mention of his presence on earlier occasions, the omission is probably meaningless. It allows the hypothesis, however, that Eraclius might have been present also on one or both of the subsequent occasions in which William mentions the presence of the Cross but not the name of the accompanying cleric: WT 22.22, 30, pp. 1108, 1130. On Bernard of Lydda as Eraclius' vicar see RRH no. 637a.

Contrary to Bernard Hamilton's assertion (*Latin Church*, p. 129), Amalric of Nesle was present on at least two campaigns: WT 20.19, 27, pp. 974, 993.

13 Fulcher, *Historia* (see n. 11 above), pp. 357-359, 416; WT 18.21, p. 856; cf. Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 131.

14 PL 163:410.

transgressions in the sexual sphere.¹⁵ But even if Eraclius were indeed a “verliebter Pfaffe”—the expression is Hans Prutz’s¹⁶—his conduct would not have been wholly exceptional for his time. The Second Lateran Council of 1139 and the Synod of Rheims of 1148 dealt with *bishops* and priests who had entered upon illicit matrimonial unions. Ralph of Domfront, patriarch of Antioch in the years 1135-1140, was accused of incontinence and the conduct of his successor, Aimery of Limoges (1140-1193) may have also left something to be desired, since William of Tyre describes him as *conversationis non satis honestae*. The Third Lateran Council, in which both William and Eraclius took part, dealt with clerics in holy orders who kept “their little women” (*mulierculas suas*) in their houses—it is noteworthy in this context that the shorter adaptation of Ernoul emphasizes that Eraclius kept Dame Pasque in view of all, “fors tant qu’ele ne manoit mie aveuc li”—and priestly homosexuality, concubinage and marriage were matters of constant concern for the papacy throughout the century.¹⁷ Moreover, the very requirement of clerical continence is reported to have been questioned by leading theologians of Eraclius’ day. Gerald of Wales relates that he had heard Peter Comestor (d. c. 1180) publicly teach that the Devil had never deceived the Church so sorely as in the introduction of the vow of continence, and Robert de Courson reports that Peter the Chanter (d. 1197) used to call for the convocation of a general council at which that vow was to be revoked. (Robert does not spell out, though, which ranks within holy orders were to be affected by the proposed ruling.) The Chanter’s followers expressed similar views until the issue was resolved by the stringent legislation of the Fourth Lateran Council.¹⁸

15 Peter of Blois, *Passio Reginaldi principis olim Antiocheni*, PL 207:966; Giraldus Cambrensis, *Expugnatio Hibernica* 2.27, ed. and trans. A.B. Scott and F.X. Martin (Dublin, 1978) [hereafter cited as Giraldus, *Expugnatio*], p. 204; Herbert of Bosham, *Vita S. Thomae*, ed. J.C. Robertson in *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, RS 67.3 (London, 1877), 514; Rigord, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, RHGF 17:14; Radulfus Niger, *De re militari vel triplici via peregrinationis Ierosolimitane* 3.65, 83, ed. L. Schmugge, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters* 6 (Berlin and New York, 1977), pp. 186-187, 193-194.

16 *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Berlin, 1883), p. 127.

17 Concilium Lateranense II, c. 7 in Mansi, *Concilia* 21:527-528; Concilium Remense (a. 1148), c. 7, *ibid.*, col. 715; WT 15.16.18, pp. 684, 688; Concilium Lateranense III, c. 11 in Mansi, *Concilia* 22:224. For general surveys see H.C. Lea, *An Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church*, 2nd ed. (Boston, 1884), pp. 313-326; G. Denzler, *Das Papstum und der Amiszölibat*, I: *Die Zeit bis zur Reformation* (Stuttgart, 1973), pp. 87-95.

18 Cf. Lea, *Sketch*, pp. 325-326; J.W. Baldwin, “A Campaign to Reduce Clerical Celibacy at the Turn of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” in *Études d’histoire de droit canonique dédiées à Gabriel Le Bras*, 2 (Paris, 1965), pp. 1041-1053; *Id.*, *Masters, Princes and Merchants. The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1970), 1:337-341. Gerald of Wales’s statements appear in the *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, ed. J.S. Brewer in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, RS 21 (1861-1891), 2:187-188; Robert of Courson’s *questio* has been edited by Baldwin, “A Campaign,” p. 1052; *Id.*, *Masters*, 2:231-232.

Despite Ernoul's unmistakable animosity toward Eraclius, he may be depended upon as far as details neutral to his intent are concerned. One such detail is Eraclius' place of birth. The shorter adaptation relates that he was born in the Auvergne; the longer is more specific and presents Gévaudan, in the southern part of that region, as his native land. His name, probably going back to the saintly bishop of Sens who might have been present at Clovis' baptism, was uncommon but not entirely unknown: one Eraclius was bishop of Tarbes between 1056 and 1065, another was archbishop of Lyons between 1153 and 1163 and the name recurred also in the family of the viscounts of Polignac, just north of Le Puy.¹⁹ As unusual naming is more frequently encountered along the upper rungs of society, Eraclius' name may imply an origin of some standing. His easy student-day cameraderie with Étienne of Tournai suggests that they were of roughly the same age; and Étienne was born on February 18, 1128.²⁰

Étienne's writings offer a few glimpses of the student life he shared at Bologna with Eraclius, the future cardinal Gratian, the future archdeacon of Lisieux and Ely, Richard Barre, and probably also with Uberto Crivelli, the future Pope Urban III.²¹ It may have been at a farewell party like the one given to Richard Barre that Étienne read the rather puerile poem, occasionally verging on the burlesque, about the offerings the divinities of ancient mythology brought to a newborn son of Jupiter and Juno and about the branches of learning to which the infant was introduced. Law does not figure among them because, as Étienne puts it, distinctions between thieves who act openly and those who act in secret are not needed in Heaven, nor is usury known there.²² It is an amusing example of in-group jesting about the subjects which the would-be poet and his companions were then studying. The same atmosphere is conjured up in the letter Étienne was to send Eraclius in the late 1170's. Here he mentions with ostensible regret those jocoſe conversations of old, when they referred to pleadings in the lawcourts as items of merchandise, to litigants' contentions as a battle of the blind, to the lecture-rooms of the Bolognese masters as artificers' workshops. (One is inclined to believe that the lively Étienne, who even as a septuagenarian Bishop of Tournai composed a quatrain

19 PL 159:958; RHGF 12:347A, 14:466D, 467C, 468D, 16:690C. The name is consistently spelled *Eraclius*.

20 For the date see J. Warichez, *Étienne de Tournai et son temps, 1128-1203* (Tournai and Paris, 1937), p. 2.

21 Desilve, ed., *Lettres*, nos. 44 (Gratian), 136 (Urban III), 275 (Richard Barre), pp. 57, 159-160, 346-347.

22 L. Auvray, ed., "Un poème rythmique et une lettre d'Étienne de Tournai," in *Mélanges Paul Fabre. Études d'histoire du moyen âge* (Paris, 1902), p. 290, lines 177-180.

which a scandalized biographer in the twentieth century thought sufficiently risqué to be relegated to a footnote,²³ coined most of these irreverencies, but Eraclius may have had a share.) Then, Étienne continues, they followed different inclinations, with him taking to the wagonmaker's workshop of Bulgarius—the noted Bolognese teacher of civil law—which he had formerly ridiculed, and Eraclius directing his steps to the Calvary of the Crucified.²⁴

On the basis of this passage, Johann Friedrich von Schulte wrote that Étienne appears to have engaged in advocacy at Bologna.²⁵ If his reasoning were cogent, it would have applied to Eraclius as well; however, it is possible to poke fun at advocates without being one in person. Selmar Scheler and Rudolf Hiestand, on the other hand, deduced from the same passage that Eraclius was a student of theology.²⁶ *Studium calvarie Crucifixi* may indeed be so interpreted, but the subsequent sentence—"Blessed be your pilgrimage, which both atones for sins and uplifts you to heights"—suggests rather that Étienne had in mind Eraclius' departure for the Holy Land. However, if Eraclius really went on to study theology, he would have probably done so outside Bologna: Rolando Bandinelli, the future Pope Alexander III, taught theology at Bologna in the early 1140's, but the subject does not seem to have been pursued there later in the century.²⁷

23 Warichez, *Étienne de Tournai*, p. 139, note.

24 "Iocosas olim confabulationes nostras fructuosis oro sepius orationibus expiari. Togatorum advocationes mercimonia, litigantium conflictus cecorum pugnam, Bononiensium auditoria fabriles diximus officinas. Inter hec, diversa sequi studia sumus; ego, quod irriseram, carpentariam Bulgari, vos calvariam Crucifixi. Beata peregrinatio vestra, que et culpas expiat et ad sublimia vos extollit. Interim, pater, obsecro, mementote Stephani vestri, qui sic memoriam vestram retinet, ut quasi iugi spectaculo vestram presentiam amplectatur." Desilve, ed., *Lettres*, no. 78, pp. 92-93. The letter must have been written after Étienne's election as abbot of Sainte-Geneviève in 1176 and before he received news of Eraclius' election as patriarch in 1180.

As R.B.C. Huygens has already noticed, William of Tyre, too, refers to the *auditoria* of the Bolognese masters: "Guillaume de Tyr étudiant: Un chapitre (XIX, 12) de son *Histoire retrouvé*," *Latomus* 21 (1962), 823 with apparatus. The masters may have consciously revived the name given to the Higher School of Constantinople after its reorganization in 425, a name they must have encountered in C. 11.19.1.

25 J.F. von Schulte, *Die Summa des Stephanus Tornacensis über das Decretum Gratiani* (Giessen, 1891), p. xxiii; also, *Histoire littéraire de la France* 15 (Paris, 1820), p. 526.

26 S. Scheler, *Sitten und Bildung der französischen Geistlichkeit nach den Briefen Stephans von Tournai (+1203)* (Berlin, 1915), p. 8; Hiestand, "Zum Leben," p. 360. Sarti and Fattorini mention Eraclius among the canonists: M. Sarti and M. Fattorini, *De claris archigymnasii Bononiensis professoribus a saeculo XI usque ad saeculum XIV*, ed. C. Albicinius and C. Malagola, 1 (Bologna, 1888-1896), 365-366.

27 F. Ehrle, *I più antichi statuti della Facoltà teologica dell' Università di Bologna. Contributo alla storia della scolastica medievale* (Bologna, 1932), pp. lxviii-lxix.

The years which Étienne spent in Bologna remain unknown. Joseph Warichez assumed that he studied there between 1145 and 1150, but the assumption, though repeated in the literature, is not supported by facts. Von Schulte reasoned from the biographies of Étienne's better-known fellow students that he must have been there in the 1150's, perhaps in the early 1160's.²⁸ The period during which Eraclius studied at Bologna, mentioned only in Étienne's letter, can be circumscribed only by the same vague limits.

The year is 1168 and the place Jerusalem when Eraclius makes his next appearance in the sources. From now on his doings are documented in considerable detail. In 1168 he witnessed two patriarchal deeds as *magister* Eraclius (it is noteworthy that another *magister*, Stephanus, was a further witness). In 1169 he was archdeacon of Jerusalem: in this capacity he succeeded in 1171 in mediating an agreement between Bishop Bernard of Lydda and Peter, prior of the Holy Sepulchre, but, more important, failed in 1172 in persuading Alexander III to comply with the wishes of Patriarch Amalric and King Amalric of Jerusalem and to reinstate Gilbert d'Assailly as Master of the Hospital. The pope pointed out in his decision, however, that Eraclius had pressed his case *sollicite et prudenter*.²⁹ In 1175 he was archbishop of Caesarea, one of the four metropolitan sees of the realm.³⁰

The pace of Eraclius' preferment, though rapid by Palestinian standards — Abbot Bernard of Mt. Tabor, who became bishop of Lydda in 1168, died in that office in 1190 — appears less extraordinary when compared with the careers of some of his near-contemporaries at Bologna. Étienne of Tournai was elected in 1167 abbot of Saint-Euverte at Orléans, in 1176 of Sainte-Geneviève-de-Paris. Richard Barre went to the papal curia on delicate missions on behalf of Henry II both before and after the murder of Thomas Becket and by 1173 served as seal-bearer and chancellor to young king Henry.³¹ Gratian, in 1168

28 Warichez, *Étienne de Tournai*, p. 17 (and, less definitely, p. 20); Ph. Delhaye, "Morale et droit canonique dans la 'Summa' d'Étienne de Tournai," *Studia Gratiana* 1 (1953), 438; J.A. Corbett, "Stephen of Tournai," in *The New Catholic Encyclopedia* 13 (New York, 1967), 701.—Schulte, *Die Summa*, p. xxiii.

29 RRH nos. 455, 456, 469, 492, 528; Delaville, *Cartulaire*, no. 434 (faultily summarized in RRH no. 492a). Eraclius is probably also the archdeacon of Jerusalem who, according to a fragmentarily preserved Hospitaller account, at an earlier stage backed Gilbert's request that the patriarch allow him to resign: Delaville, *Cartulaire*, no. 403, p. 277.

30 WT 21.10, p. 1021. RRH nos. 458b and 539 are the only extant acts in which Eraclius appears as archbishop of Caesarea.

31 *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS 49 (London, 1867) [hereafter cited as *Gesta*], 1:19-21, 43; Roger Howden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS 51 (London, 1868-1871) [hereafter cited as *Howden*], 2:25-26, 46; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H.R. Luard, RS 57 (London, 1872-1883), 2:249.

subdeacon and notary of the Roman church—it was in that capacity that he drew up in 1172 Alexander III's negative though complimentary answer to Eraclius' pleading on behalf of Gilbert d'Assailly³²—became in 1178 a cardinal-deacon. In the Kingdom of Jerusalem, Eraclius' preferment was closely paralleled by that of William of Tyre—archdeacon of Tyre in 1167, chancellor of the realm in 1174, archbishop of Tyre in 1175—whose studies in Europe are however far better documented.

In October 1178 Archbishop Eraclius set out for the Third Lateran Council, along with William of Tyre and six other prelates from Outremer.³³ Their performance at the council was far from impressive. The times boded ill for the Crusading Kingdom, hedged in as it now was between Saladin's possessions to the east and the west; but the eight prelates did not induce the council to issue a call for a new crusade, or at least to constrain to go east those who had already taken the cross. One suspects that they devoted their energy to ensure the adoption of canon 9 of that council, which defended episcopal authority against Templar and Hospitaller encroachments, and possibly also of canon 24, which prohibited naval assistance and the export of contraband to the Saracens.³⁴ More than a century ago, Hermann Reuter advanced the hypothesis that the ultramarine prelates did not press the cause of the crusade as they were elated by Baldwin IV's great victory over Saladin at Montgisard in 1177,³⁵ and it is indeed possible that contemporaries perceived that battle as reflecting the true military balance between the two sides rather than as a skillful exploitation of singularly propitious circumstances. Whatever the explanation, the prelates evidently exhibited shortsightedness. Eraclius shared their failure: even more so William of Tyre, who, on his own evidence, played an important role at the council and, in his *Historia*, presented the victory at Montgisard as miraculous and humanly undeserved.³⁶

In October 1180 Eraclius became patriarch of Jerusalem. William of Tyre, who habitually dwells on the virtues and shortcomings of earlier incumbents, reports the elevation of Eraclius without wasting a word about his qualities—the only hint that William might have had reservations about the new patriarch. The adaptations of Ernoul relate, however, at considerable length that William strongly opposed Eraclius' candidacy, attempted to dissuade the

32 Delaville, *Cartulaire*, no. 434, p. 301.

33 WT 21.26, p. 1049.

34 Mansi, *Concilia* 22: 222, 230.

35 H. Reuter, *Geschichte Alexanders des Dritten und der Kirche seiner Zeit*, 3 (Leipzig, 1864), 424, 589.

36 WT 21.24, 26, pp. 1046-1047, 1051.

canons of the Holy Sepulchre from naming him in the election, proposed that they search for a candidate abroad, and was finally nominated himself alongside Eraclius, with King Baldwin IV bowing to the requests of the queen-mother and choosing Eraclius.³⁷ Peter Edbury and John Rowe have recently shown that the custom of dual postulation, recorded at this occasion for the first time, was roundly condemned by Pope Celestine III in the bull *Cum terra, que* of 1191, which made its way into the Decretals. The two authors suppose that the custom, which testifies to an increased royal control of the Church, arose during the 1180's out of the precedent of Eraclius' election.³⁸ The custom rejected by Celestine III applied however not only to patriarchal elections but to *alicuius prelati electio*, with the electoral bodies secretly postulating two persons *auribus patriarche vel principis*; in other words, it was a custom prevailing throughout the crusader East, reflecting not only temporal power over the church but, in the first place, a patriarchal curtailment of the *libertas* of local ecclesiastical bodies. It is hardly conceivable that so far-reaching an innovation could have become normative during the few, convulsive years separating Eraclius' election in October 1180 from the promulgation of Celestine's bull of 1191. Indeed, Celestine himself refers to the custom as having arisen *olim*, an expression hardly appropriate if it had emerged as recently as the 1180's.³⁹ It is plausible, therefore, to assume that the custom was introduced well before 1180—probably, as Edbury and Rowe suggest, in imitation of Byzantine practice⁴⁰—and that Eraclius was elected according to conventional though uncanonical practice. It is possible that William appealed to the papal court. The shorter adaptation of Ernoul says that he did so, though William himself, in his *Historia*, is silent on the matter. There was good precedent for such action. The archbishop of Caesarea and the bishop of Bethlehem had appealed to Rome in 1158, when it was said that the predecessor of Eraclius, Amalric of Nesle, had been elected through the intervention of the queen-mother of that time, Meli-

37 WT 22.4, p. 1068; *Eracles* 23.38, pp. 57-59; Ernoul, pp. 82-84.

38 X 1.6.14, to be read with the address, *arena* and date discovered by W. Holtzmann, "La 'Collectio Seguntina' et les décrétales de Clément III et de Célestine III," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 50 (1955), 430; Edbury and Rowe, "William of Tyre," pp. 12-13, 19, 23. It should be noted that Paul Riant, though of course unaware of the *Collectio Seguntina*, understood that *Cum terra, que* dealt with crusader custom: *Haymari Monachi De Expugnata Accone liber tetrastichus*, ed. P. Riant (Lyons, 1866), pp. xxxviii-xl. Riant assumed, however, that the account of the 1180 election in the adaptations of Ernoul referred in reality to the later election of Monachus: *ibid.*, p. xxxix, n. 1.

39 Also, Hugh I of Cyprus and Innocent III refer in 1213 to the custom as to an *antiqua consuetudo*: PL 216: 733, 735. See also the argument of Hiestand, "Zum Leben," p. 350, n. 24.

40 Edbury and Rowe, "William of Tyre," pp. 19-20.

sende—whose *capellanus familiaris* he had been—and the support of Countesses Odierna of Tripoli and Sybil of Flanders, Melisende's sister and stepdaughter, respectively.⁴¹ The appeal of 1158 was rejected and so was that, if it was ever made, of 1180.

As patriarch, Eraclius exhibited considerable skill and flexibility. In 1181 he headed a delegation to Antioch which worked out a compromise between Prince Bohemond III and Patriarch Aimery, deliberately leaving unresolved the most delicate issue, that of Bohemond's irregular marriage.⁴² Eraclius displayed similar pragmatism in the case of the fragment of the True Cross which Patriarch Fulcher (d. 1157) had sent to Europe to serve as a proxy sanctuary for Christians unable to make the pilgrimage to the Sepulchre itself. The relic was forcibly seized while under way, with the connivance, so it would seem, of Duke Conrad II of Dachau, and the canons of the Sepulchre had been unable to recover it. During a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Conrad III of Dachau begged Eraclius to allow him to possess the relic and the patriarch acquiesced, imposing on the duke, however, the responsibility of recovering other appropriated possessions of the Sepulchre.⁴³ He also successfully defended the archbishopric of Tyre against the claims of the patriarch of Antioch, repeatedly fending off attempts by Pope Lucius III to settle the issue, and thus preserved the status quo favourable to himself as well as to William of Tyre.⁴⁴ The relatively well preserved acts of St. Mary in the Valley of Josaphat disclose that Eraclius succeeded in settling two disputes concerning that abbey, in 1183 acting at the behest of Lucius III, in 1186 acting on his own.⁴⁵ In his dealings with the Jacobites Eraclius attempted to take advantage of an internal struggle in order to bring about their submission to Rome. Michael the Syrian, Jacobite patriarch of Antioch, denounces his rival, Theodore bar Wahbūn, for offering "the patriarch of the Franks of Jerusalem" to make the Jacobites obedient to Rome

41 WT 18.20, p. 854, gives a faulty reading. The full text, as transmitted by Vat. lat. 2002 (s. XIII), is brought by R.B.C. Huygens, "La tradition manuscrite de Guillaume de Tyr," *Studi medievali* 3.5 (1964), 302.

42 WT 22.7, pp. 1073-1074; cf. Hamilton, *Latin Church*, pp. 46-47.

43 Eraclius' letter to Conrad III, complete with its seal, is preserved in Munich, Allgemeines Staatsarchiv, KU Scheyern no. 10; facsimile in *Monumenta Boica* 10 (Munich, 1768), Plate 13 *in fine*; printed in *Chronicon Schirensis*, ed. G.C. Joannes (Strasbourg, 1716), pp. 93-94. On the seal see H.E. Mayer, *Das Siegelwesen in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten*, Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, NF 83 (Munich, 1978), p. 34, n. 112 and Plate 1.1.2. For the story of the relic, now at Scheyern, see M. Knitl, *Scheyern als Burg und Kloster. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Hauses Scheyern-Wittelsbach sowie zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens* (Freising, 1880), pp. 64-69.

44 PL 214:466; cf. Hiestand, "Zum Leben," pp. 377-379.

45 RRH nos. 631, 657b. Eraclius probably had also a hand in the accord attained in 1185 between the bishop of Winchester and the Hospitallers: RRH no. 641a.

if he were helped in his bid to become the head of the Jacobite church, and adds that the patriarch gave him his support. Michael reports also that Theodore offered the patriarch 1,000 dinars for the Jacobite convent of Mary Magdalene in Jerusalem.⁴⁶ However, as Michael goes on to say that Theodore's proposal necessitated the despatch of messengers to Jerusalem, it transpires that Eraclius continued to maintain contacts with the patriarch in power. The convent seems to have remained under the control of Michael's men; at any rate, when the gates of Jerusalem were shut by Eraclius' faction during the controversial coronation of 1186, it was the abbot of *la Madeleine des Jacopins de Jerusalem* who opened a postern to let in a spy for the rival faction.⁴⁷ Eraclius' attempt at bringing about Jacobite submission to Rome, probably influenced by the success of Patriarch Aimery of Antioch in securing about 1182 the communion with the Maronites, thus appears to have remained within the bounds of tentative scheming.

Eraclius seems also to have displayed some of the skill in fiscal matters which he was to put to use after the capitulation of Jerusalem. In any case, in 1183 he and William of Tyre were appointed custodians of the prospective proceeds of the general tax then imposed on the kingdom, with the first supervising the collection in Jerusalem and the second in Acre: the appointments, in contrast with the account in the adaptations of Ernoul, presuppose a working relationship between the two. The structure of the tax decree of 1183 closely resembles the English and French orders of 1166, which established a levy for the relief of the Crusading Kingdom, and it is possible that Eraclius, who in 1166 might have still been in Europe, was one of the men to make the council in Jerusalem familiar with the English or French taxation schemes.⁴⁸ It is even more probable that the sudden appearance of the base unit of one hundred in the French and English tax ordinances of 1185 resulted from Eraclius' presence at the meeting between Louis VII and Henry II at which they were decided upon, as

46 *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166-1199)*, ed. and trans. J.-B. Chabot, 3 (Paris, 1905), 386-387. Cf. P. Kawerau, *Die jakobitische Kirche im Zeitalter der syrischen Renaissance. Idee und Wirklichkeit* (Berlin, 1955), p. 59; Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 198. As Theodore's dealings with Eraclius took place in the days of Athanasius, Jacobite archbishop of Jerusalem from 1185 onward, it follows that the affair occurred after Eraclius' return from the West.

47 *Eraclies*, pp. 27-28, MS D. On the Jacobite complex dedicated to Mary Magdalene see Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, p. 228.

48 WT 22.23, pp. 1110-1112; cf. B.Z. Kedar, "The General Tax of 1183 in the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem: Innovation or Adaptation?" *English Historical Review* 89 (1974), 339-345. The argument that, in this tax decree, *civitas* means "town" rather than "diocese," is enhanced by the phrase *de universis civitatibus et castellis quae rex in praesentiarum possidebat*, which appears somewhat later in the chronicle: WT 22.25, p. 1116.

that unit, hitherto rare in the West, recurs several times in the Jerusalemitic decree of 1183.⁴⁹

In the internal struggles which convulsed the Crusading Kingdom from the closing years of Baldwin IV onwards, Eraclius initially appears as a decided supporter of Guy of Lusignan. He is mentioned, together with the queen-mother and unspecified nobles, as present at—and, one may assume, influential in bringing about—Guy's appointment as *bailli* early in 1183; in October 1183 he was with Guy on the inconclusive campaign in the Jezreel Valley; when, at the end of that year, Baldwin fell out with Guy and ordered Eraclius to initiate proceedings for Guy's divorce from his sister Sybil, the patriarch, or so William's account seems to indicate, did not concur and possibly even alerted Guy to remove Sybil from Jerusalem. At the general council subsequently convened at Acre to discuss the despatch of emissaries to the West, Eraclius, backed by the masters of the two military orders, interrupted the proceedings and besought Baldwin on bended knee to receive Guy back into his favour; when the three went unheeded, they left council and town in ire. (William of Tyre, who criticizes Eraclius for having left Acre "with untempered emotion" after failing in being "immediately" listened to, implies that a more patient approach might have borne fruit.)⁵⁰

During the next year and a half Eraclius followed, however, a distinctly different course. At an unspecified moment in early 1184, probably some time after the appointment of Raymond of Tripoli as *bailli* with which William of Tyre's chronicle abruptly ends, it was decided to send Eraclius and the masters of the military orders on the mission to the West which had been on the agenda of the Acre council. Had the three attained their aims, the political fabric of the kingdom would have been radically altered and the ambitions of Guy and other local aspirants to the throne effectively undercut.

The three envoys sailed for Italy in the spring or early summer of 1184. For Eraclius it was the third crossing in twelve years, a crossing which, unlike those of 1172 and 1178, placed him for several months at the centre of European attention. As head and spokesman of the delegation he pleaded the cause of the endangered kingdom before Lucius III and Frederick I at Verona in November 1184, before Philip II Augustus in Paris in January 1185 and before Henry II in England from February to April 1185, and the sight of a patriarch of Jerusalem traversing the continent from Brindisi to Reading, imploring help, offering the

49 The point has been made by F.A. Cazel Jr., "The Tax of 1185 in Aid of the Holy Land," *Speculum* 30 (1955), 387, 391-392.

50 WT 22.25, p. 1116 (Guy's appointment); Ernoul, pp. 98-99, 101 (Jezreel Valley campaign). WT 23.1, p. 1133 (separation attempt and intervention at Acre).

keys of the Sepulchre and preaching the cross had a considerable impact. Very little is heard of Eraclius' fellow envoys, especially after the death of the Templar master in Verona: it is the patriarch whom one chronicler after another mentions, rendering his mission one of the best recorded events of crusader history.⁵¹ (The adaptations of Ernoul, on the other hand, ignore the mission altogether—a further measure of Ernoul's partiality.)

Eraclius' main purpose was to persuade a European ruler to accept the lordship over the Crusading Kingdom. Who empowered him to pursue this goal? Though he was in contact with Baldwin IV, reporting to him upon having landed in Brindisi and receiving in return an account of Saladin's summer campaign of 1184, and though the king seems to have made or acquiesced in a similar attempt two years earlier,⁵² available evidence indicates that he did not make the proposals in the king's name. In the letter to Henry II which Eraclius conveyed to England and which may be taken to sum up the deliberations held at Verona, Lucius III writes that the Holy Land is lacking the protection of a king and its *proceres* had set their only hope on Henry's patronage. Gerald of Wales, who wrote on the mission within four years of the events, relates that Eraclius made his offer on behalf of the *primi* of Palestine, the Templars and the Hospitallers, and in accordance with the unanimous wish and approval of all clergy and people. And the anonymous chronicler of Laon reports that the patriarch offered the diadem of Jerusalem to many rulers, carrying with him letters patent in which Palestine's *principes* ratified in advance whatever settlement he was to arrive at.⁵³ In light of these sources, and

51 For a detailed description of the mission, based on most of the sources, see A. Cartellieri, *Philip II August, König von Frankreich*, 2 (Leipzig and Paris, 1906), 18-25; for Eraclius' itinerary in England see R.W. Eyton, *Court, Household and Itinerary of King Henry II* (London, 1878), pp. 261-264, to which should be added that, according to an inscription destroyed in 1695, Eraclius consecrated the Temple Church of London on February 10, 1185, and granted an indulgence of 60 days to those visiting the church yearly: *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England.) An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London*, 4: *The City* (London, 1929), p. 137. For a survey of earlier missions see R.C. Smail, "Latin Syria and the West, 1149-1187," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5.19 (1969), 1-20.

52 Baldwin's letter—probably a mere fragment—appears in Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines historiarum*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS 68.2 (London, 1876), pp. 27-28. The attempt of 1182 is mentioned in *Sigeberti continuatio Aquicinctina*, ed. L.C. Bethmann (1844), MGH SS 6:420; *Annales de Theokesberia*, ed. R.H. Luard in *Annales Monastici*, RS 36 (London, 1864-69), 1:52. Cf. Cartellieri, *Philip II August* 2:13; H.E. Mayer, "Kaiserrecht und Heiliges Land," in H. Fuhrmann, H.E. Mayer and K. Wriedt, eds., *Aus Reichsgeschichte und Nordischer Geschichte. Karl Jordan zum 65. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart, 1972), p. 202.

53 For Lucius' letter see, for instance, Howden 2:300-301; Giraldus, *Expugnatio*, 2.26, p. 200; *Chronicon universale anonymi Laudunensis*, ed. A. Cartellieri and W. Stechele (Leipzig and Paris, 1909), pp. 35-36 (more readily available in the partial edition of G. Waitz [1882], MGH SS 26:450).

especially of the papal letter, one may discard Roger of Howden's assertion that Baldwin and the *principes*, or Baldwin and the military orders, sent Eraclius on his mission, and assume instead that the envoys were empowered by an otherwise unknown council of early 1184, which despaired of Baldwin IV and V, Guy and Raymond alike.⁵⁴ The Templars and the Hospitallers, who had been involved in similar initiatives in 1181 and 1182,⁵⁵ were probably conspicuous among the supporters of the new departure, but it was Eraclius—evidently neither a diehard supporter of Guy nor a subservient tool of the “court party”—who became its main protagonist.

Of the many references to Eraclius' mission, a few shed some light on his personality. His sense for the dramatic, already exhibited while pleading on bended knee before Baldwin IV at Acre, finds further manifestation when he prostrates himself at Henry II's feet and entreats him in tears to come in person to the rescue of the Holy Land. The retort he made to Henry's offer of money—“we seek a man who stands in need of money, not money that needs a man”—attests to some rhetorical capacity. He seems to have had no compunction about placing himself at centre stage: Herbert of Bosham relates that when, during his stay in England, conversation turned to Thomas Becket, Eraclius asseverated that he knew in Jerusalem about Becket's martyrdom within fifteen days of the event and that he spread the news throughout the realm, having learned about it through a cenobite's vision. The strain of irascibility, revealed in his rash departure from the Acre council, reappears when he reacts to Henry's definite refusal by harshly rebuking him “while many stood by and listened.” Gerald of Wales, who describes this scene in a work completed before Henry's death, adds in a later treatise that in a subsequently held private audience Eraclius went so far as to accuse Henry to his face of having murdered Becket: when the enraged king gave him his customary stare, Era-

Hans Eberhard Mayer has ingeniously suggested that William of Tyre, in a last-second addition to the *Historia*, intended to warn Eraclius against basing his offer on the conception that the Kingdom of Jerusalem was a fief depending on its patriarch: Mayer, *Bistümer*, pp. 25-28. In fact, Eraclius is not known to have used this argument; in England, he stressed the blood ties with the Angevins.

54 *Gesta* 1:331; Howden 2:299. Mayer, “Kaiserrecht,” p. 203, suggests that the mission may have been decided upon at the council which appointed Raymond as regent. However, in his account of that council William of Tyre does not mention the mission and presents Raymond's appointment as the “unica et singularis salutis via.” Also, as William mentions that the king was present at the council, it would follow that the envoys acted on his behalf, too—a conclusion which may be rejected on the basis of Lucius' letter.

55 For the letter of Alexander III which *Templarii et Hospitalares Jerusalem* conveyed to the kings of England and France see *Gesta* 1:272-274, Howden 2:255-258. For the initiative of 1182 see note 52 above.

lius bent his neck and dared him to cut off his head. The gesture is in character, though the ensuing dialogue is probably either embellished or imaginary.⁵⁶ (Little affection seems to have been lost between the two, with the king sarcastically commenting, in response to Gerald's plea on the patriarch's behalf, on clerics who can afford to call him boldly forth to battles, knowing well that they are not going to sustain a blow in them.)⁵⁷ A further trait emerges from Ralph Niger's bitter lines about the jingling of the patriarch's gold and silver furnishings, the fragrance spreading from his garments and the extravagance of his moveable chapel.⁵⁸

After a final meeting with the kings of England and France at Vaudreuil on May 1, 1185, where he received more promises of money and men, Eraclius hastened home, "greatly dismayed," writes Roger of Howden, "at having achieved so little."⁵⁹ As in 1172, when his mission was to Alexander III, he gained respect for his pleading, but dismally failed in attaining his objective. Skirting the Curia on his return voyage so as to avoid the showdown planned by Lucius III on the conflicting claims of the patriarchates of Jerusalem and Antioch, Eraclius arrived in Jerusalem before August 1, 1185.⁶⁰ His political influence reached its nadir: with Baldwin IV having finally succumbed to his illness some time before May 16, 1185,⁶¹ the country was ruled by Raymond of Tripoli, regent for Baldwin V and opponent of Guy of Lusignan. Even the minor successes Eraclius had been able to achieve in Europe turned out to be hollow: when the English and French who took the cross under the impact of his preaching arrived in Jerusalem after Easter 1186 and learned that a long-term truce with Saladin was in effect, most of them promptly returned to

56 *Gesta* 1:335, Howden 2:299, Giraldus, *Expugnatio* 2.26, p. 200 (prostration); Giraldus, *Expugnatio* 2.27, pp. 202-204 (retort and rebuke); Herbert of Bosham, *Vita S. Thomae* (see n. 15 above), pp. 514-516; Giraldus, *De principis instructione* 2.28, ed. G.F. Warner, RS 67.8 (London, 1891), p. 211 (accusation of murder).

57 *De principis instructione* 2.26, p. 207.

58 See n. 15 above. Ralph Niger's description may be compared with that of Dame Pasque's garments in the adaptations of Ernoul.

59 *Gesta* 1:338, Howden 2:304.

60 The date of arrival in Jerusalem is given in *Gesta* 1:341, Howden 2:307. As Eraclius neither sent a written statement on the Jerusalem-Antioch issue nor returned to the Curia on his way back from France, Lucius III, some time before his death on November 25, 1185, set a new date for the proceedings, but Eraclius chose to ignore it: PL 214:466.

61 The traditionally adduced date of his death, March 16, is unfounded: Röhricht, *Geschichte*, p. 415, n. 2. Baldwin V's earliest charter extant dates from May 16: RRH no. 643. Rudolf Hiestand has promised to prove that Baldwin IV died on April 15, 1185: "Zum Leben," p. 374.

Europe.⁶² Eraclius' own activities during Raymond's regency remain unknown, but they seem to have been in a minor key. His support for Theodore bar Wahbūn probably began in this period and he may also have wrestled with the issue of Genoese privileges, for in two letters of March 13, 1186, Pope Urban III—still another fellow student of Étienne of Tournai—ordered him, first, to urge Baldwin V and Raymond of Tripoli to give back the Genoese their possessions and, second, to make the canons of the Sepulchre set up again in their church the inscription which recorded, in letters of gold, the rights enjoyed by the Genoese in the kingdom.⁶³

After Baldwin V's death in the summer of 1186,⁶⁴ Eraclius returned once more to the centre of the stage. His role in the proceedings leading to Guy of Lusignan's coronation was probably more complex than might appear from the adaptations of Ernoul, hitherto considered the main source for this event. The chronology of the relevant part of the adaptations is questionable. While William of Tyre, recording the events shortly after their occurrence, gives November 20, 1183 as the date of Baldwin V's coronation and places Raymond's appointment as *bailli* at some later point, and while Baldwin IV's letter to Eraclius leaves no doubt that he was still alive in mid-September 1184, the adaptations claim that the coronation took place *after* Raymond had accepted, on his own terms, the regency, and that Baldwin IV died a short time after the coronation.⁶⁵ The adaptations describe at considerable length the succession arrangements which were to come into force after the death of Baldwin IV, but in that description the possibility is not mentioned that, should the mission of Eraclius to the West prove successful, a European ruler might become king of Jerusalem. This omission casts doubt on the accuracy and comprehensiveness

62 *Die lateinische Fortsetzung Wilhelms von Tyrus*, 1.9, ed. Marianne Salloch (Leipzig, 1934) [hereafter cited as *Fortsetzung*], pp. 63-64; *Gesta* 1:359. Howden 2:316. Howden's assertion that Guy was king when the crusaders arrived may be discarded.

63 *Codice diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova dal MCLXIII al MCLXXXX*, ed. C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo 2 (Rome, 1938), nos. 157, 160, pp. 301, 303-304. For a recent discussion of the background see H.E. Mayer and Marie-Luise Favreau, "Das Diplom Balduins I für Genua und Genuas Goldene Inschrift in der Grabeskirche," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 55/56 (1976), 22-95 (but the original of Alexander III's letter to Amalric [p. 27, n. 15] can be consulted in Genoa's Biblioteca Universitaria, Manoscritti, scatola D.VIII.1, no. 5).

64 The exact date is unknown. Remnants of his funerary monument have been recently discovered and described by Zehava Jacoby, "The Tomb of Baldwin V, King of Jerusalem (1185-1186) and the Workshop of the Temple Area," *Gesta* 18 (1979), 3-14.

65 WT 22.29, 23.1, pp. 1128, 1134; Baldwin's letter: n. 52 above; *Eracles* 23.4-5, pp. 6-9. Ernoul, pp. 115-119. Runciman, *Crusades* 2:443, n. 2, notes the discrepancy but, believing that William wrote his last pages in Rome, prefers the account of the adaptations.

of the narrative to be found in the adaptations.⁶⁶ The subsequent account that the patriarch crowned Sybil, let her place another crown on Guy's head and then anointed him, arouses similar doubts, as it makes Eraclius break with coronation custom without any compelling motive. It has been suggested that owing to Guy's unpopularity Eraclius was unwilling himself to place the crown on his head;⁶⁷ but to have Sybil do so and to anoint Guy with his own hands immediately afterwards could not—and indeed did not—effectively obscure Eraclius' responsibility for the coronation, yet added still another irregularity to an already highly unorthodox ceremony. Furthermore, Eraclius' open-ended call on Sybil, "Dame, vous estes fame, il covient que vous aies avec vos qui vostre roiaume vos aide a governer, qui masle soit; prenez ceste corone, si la dones a tel home, qui vostre roiaume puisse governer,"⁶⁸ would have been, under the circumstances spelled out by the adaptations, an empty charade, as Sybil could have crowned only her husband, the spectacle of a queen crowning a regent yet remaining married to another man being inconceivable.

The clue to the understanding of the rather puzzling moves described in the adaptations may be found in two independent accounts of the coronation written by chroniclers who arrived in the Crusading Kingdom less than five years after the event: Guy de Bazoches who landed near Acre in July 1190 and Roger of Howden who came east with King Richard about ten months later.⁶⁹ Their accounts, like that of the adaptations, are marred by factual mistakes; however, the two were in a position to get the inside story of the 1186 ceremony from Guy of Lusignan's followers, with whom they shared camp during the siege of Acre, whereas the adaptations present the essentially outsider view of the barons who at the time of the coronation were assembled at Nablus. Now,

66 As Baldwin IV died before May 16, 1185, he must have made the succession arrangements at a time at which Eraclius' fiasco in the West could by no means have been known in Jerusalem. Indeed, Arnold of Lubeck, whose account conflicts with that of the adaptations on numerous points—and who presents Eraclius as recommending Baldwin V's coronation and as agreeing to Raymond's regency—has Raymond assert that he accepts the guardianship of Baldwin V "nisi forte rex Anglie vel per se, vel per filium suum huic regno subvenire voluisset." Arnold of Lubeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, ed. I.M. Lappenberg (1869). MGH SS 21: 166.

67 H.E. Mayer, "Das Pontifikale von Tyrus und die Kronung der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 21 (1967), 158. For the Sicilian parallels of 1130 and 1151, in which a layman imposed the crown and a cleric performed the anointment, see C. Brühl, "Kronen- und Krönungsbrauch im frühen und hohen Mittelalter," *Historische Zeitschrift* 234 (1982), 5.

68 *Eraclies* 23.17, p. 29, MS D; cf. Ernoul, p. 134.

69 On Guy's arrival see *Liber epistularum Guidonis de Basochii*, ep. 35, ed. H. Adolfsson, *Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. Studia Latina Stockholmiensia* 18 (Stockholm, 1969), pp. 152-154 and Röhricht, *Geschichte*, p. 522, n 8; on Roger see Doris M. Stenton, "Roger of Howden and Benedict," *English Historical Review* 68 (1953), 574-582.

both Bazoches and Howden relate that before her coronation Sybil was urged upon to divorce Guy and marry an abler or nobler man.⁷⁰ The verisimilitude of this account is considerable. A generation earlier, Eraclius' predecessor Amalric—whom William of Tyre writes off as “practically useless”—crowned Sybil’s father, Amalric, only after having made him consent to the annulment of his marriage to Sybil’s mother;⁷¹ it is conceivable that, in the far more unsettled circumstances of 1186, assent to Sybil’s coronation was made dependent on her divorce from Guy. (A similar situation was to recur after Sybil’s death in 1190.) Perhaps it was believed in Jerusalem that a divorce, or its mere discussion, might break the ranks of the barons assembled at Nablus; again, some of the supporters of Sybil’s claims who convened in Jerusalem might have considered Guy unacceptable. The “court party,” which most modern historians credit—or rather debit—with the coronation of 1186, must not have been of a single cloth.

Bazoches goes on to assert that Sybil, though granted permission to part with Guy and recommended to marry a more capable man, retorted that she could confer the crown only on her husband, “and thus, by the wish and decision of his most faithful spouse, Count Guy of Jaffa was crowned with her as king.” The anonymous crusader who wrote his versified chronicle in the camp before Acre between October 1189 and July 1190, echoes this assertion:

Namque videbatur absurdum spernere sponsum,
Quem sibi legitime junxerat ipsa fides.⁷²

70 *Ex Guidonis de Bazochiiis Cronographie libro septimo. Letzter Teil bis zum Schluss (1199) für akademische Übungen*, ed. A. Cartellieri and W. Fricke (Jena, 1910), p. 2. As this edition is difficult to consult, I bring here the relevant passage, transcribed from the unique manuscript, BN lat. 4998, fol. 63vb: “Quarto quippe Balduino Iherosolimorum rege defuncto, soror eius comitissa Iopensis, ad quam moderamina regni redierant, cum ei persuasum esset atque concessum, ut Guidonem de Lizinnon, militem strenuum satis et nobilem, quia regio culmine minor et nomine videretur, proprium dimitteret et novum aliquem potentie maioris admitteret, virum quem Deus ei coniunxerat separare (MS: sperare) se nolle respondit, quia non liceret ei, quam debebat ferre, conferre coronam alteri, quam cui promiserat fidem, et corporis commiserat proprii potestatem. Igitur pro voluntate iudicioque fidelissime coniugis sue cum eadem in regem coronato comite Iopensi Guidone...” The passage appears, with several changes, in the *Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium*, ed. P. Scheffer-Boichorst (1874), MGH SS 23:859.

Roger of Howden’s account, originally appearing in *Gesta* I: 358-359, is repeated with several changes in Howden 2:315-316; *Fortsetzung* 1.10, pp. 64-65; Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, ed. H.G. Hewlett, RS 84.1 (London, 1886), 138-139. For a similar but apparently independent account see Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, 33, ed. Ph. Lauer (Paris, 1924), p. 35.

71 WT 19.4, pp. 888-889; for Patriarch Amalric’s characterization see WT 18.20, 22.4, pp. 854, 1068.

72 H. Prutz, ed., “Ein zeitgenössisches Gedicht auf die Belagerung Accons,” *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* 21 (1881), 458, lines 41-42.

Howden goes one step further and relates that Sybil actually assented to the divorce on the condition that she might freely choose her next husband and, once crowned, chose Guy *in regem et maritum*. At first sight, the scene appears far-fetched—until one realizes how well it explains the above-quoted, hitherto unintelligible call which, according to the adaptations, Eraclius made on Sybil during the coronation ceremony. It would seem that Ernoul, through genuine misunderstanding or inattention, once more omitted an element vital to his account.

Eraclius' reasoning can only be guessed at. Having recently conferred in person with Frederick I, Philip II and Henry II, he must have had ample grounds for believing that if these three and Pope Urban III were allowed to decide between the claims of Sybil and her sister Isabel, in accordance with the succession arrangements made while he was out of the country, then the kingdom would be left for an indefinite period in the hands of Raymond of Tripoli, a situation which Eraclius was evidently unwilling to contemplate. His earlier endeavour to import a European ruler and make Jerusalem directly dependent on a European power having failed, he may have decided to support Guy as the best of the local candidates and used the divorce scheme merely as a device to outmanoeuvre Guy's opponents who, as the adaptations reveal, expected at the crucial moment solely the coronation of Sybil; on the other hand, Eraclius may have seriously considered, at some early stage, Sybil's remarriage. In any case, when he made his call on Sybil in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, many in the audience could not have known upon whom her choice was to fall—and this effective deception, as well as the subsequent coronation of Guy by Sybil which was noted even by a Muslim chronicler,⁷³ probably appealed also to his sense of drama.

On October 21, 1186, Eraclius was with King Guy in Acre and witnessed there three royal charters, in telling contrast to his absence from similar functions during Raymond's regency.⁷⁴ In April 1187, aiming at a reconciliation with Raymond, Guy and Eraclius sent envoys to Tiberias. A Genoese, writing in the thirteenth century, believed that the patriarch led this delegation, as he had that sent to Antioch in 1181. In fact Eraclius did not accompany this ultimately successful mission,⁷⁵ neither did he, some two months later, go with

73 Ibn al-Athīr in RHC HOr. 4:674. Other contemporary sources, too, do not warrant the presentation of Sybil as a tool of the "court party."

74 RRH nos. 653-655.

75 *Libellus*, p. 211; *Regni Iherosolimitani brevis historia*, in *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori*, 1, ed. L.T. Belgrano (Genoa, 1890), p. 138. See also Abū'l Fidā' in RHC HOr. 1:56. For the envoys' names see *Eraclies* 23.25, pp. 36-37; Ernoul, p. 143; also, *Libellus*, p. 217.

the True Cross to Saforie but had it carried, as already mentioned, by the bishops of Lydda and Acre. So it came about that after the catastrophe at Hattin he found himself in charge of Jerusalem.

Eraclius decided to resist Saladin to the best of his ability. When Balian (Barisan) of Ibelin, a supporter of Raymond, arrived under Saladin's safe-conduct to fetch his family to Tripoli, Eraclius, eager to place the defense of Jerusalem in the hands of an experienced warrior, absolved him from the oath that he had sworn to Saladin to stay in the city for just one night. Moreover, although Queen Sybil was still in town, he acceded to Balian's demand to be recognized as lord of Jerusalem and receive homage and fealty. In order to save the city, Eraclius was evidently willing to accept a political solution still more radical than the one he had propagated during his European mission three years earlier. He gave his full support to Balian, to the point that he had the silver coverings of the edicule of the Sepulchre dismantled and their metal used to strike the coins with which the city's defenders were daily paid.⁷⁶ (As Joshua Prawer has surmised, these are probably the crusader coins which, devoid of a king's name, bear silent testimony to Balian's ambition.)⁷⁷ When on September 4, 1187, Saladin offered generous terms to a delegation from Jerusalem, the envoys, doubtless on instructions from Eraclius and Balian, refused to surrender the city.⁷⁸ And in a recently discovered letter written a few days before Saladin invested Jerusalem on September 20, Eraclius implored Pope Urban III to send immediate help, for otherwise Jerusalem and Tyre would fall within less than six months. The letter brims with hyperbole—the "pitiable patriarch" addresses "the supreme pontiff and universal pope" and, characteristically, falls at his feet in tears—but it forcefully conveys the urgency of the situation, with the inhabitants of Jerusalem no longer able to move freely outside the walls and with the arrival of Saladin daily expected. Significantly, Eraclius presents the capture of the True Cross and the defeat of the army as due to unaccounted-for divine wrath, not as a punishment for Christian sins.⁷⁹

76 Ernoul, pp. 174-176; *Eraclies*, p. 68, MS G: pp. 70-71, MSS C and D. The MSS on which the bold-lettered version is based (23.46, pp. 68-71) dispense with mentioning Balian's oath and its revocation by Eraclius: *Eraclies* 23.46, pp. 68-71. (In 1758 Marin will rebuke Eraclius for this act: *Histoire de Saladin* 2:51. Marin is also indignant at the "paroles insensées" with which Eraclius dared to address Henry II—and believes that the bishops of Lydda and Acre who carried the True Cross to Hattin were offspring of Eraclius' incestuous liaison with Pasque de Riveri: *ibid.*, 1:340-341, 2:4.)

77 Prawer, *Histoire* 1:673, n. 60.

78 *Eraclies*, 23.52-53, pp. 79-81; Ernoul, pp. 185-186.

79 A fragment of this letter appears in *Chronica Fuldaensis. Die Darmstädter Fragmente der Fuldaer Chronik*, ed. W. Heinemeyer (Cologne and Vienna, 1976), pp. 87-91. For the full text, edited from Clm 28195 (s. XII-XIII), fol. 48va-49ra, see B.Z. Kedar, "Ein Hilferuf aus Jerusalem vom September 1187," *Deutsches Archiv* 38 (1982), 112-122.

During the thirteen days of the ensuing siege, Eraclius went on buttressing the resistance. An anonymous defender attests that after the enemy had breached the wall, he heard with his own ears a herald announce that the patriarch and other magnates promised to pay 5,000 besants, and distribute arms, to 50 sergeants willing to guard the breach for one night, yet even this lavish offer failed to procure fifty defenders.⁸⁰ With Saladin's final assault imminent, the remaining burghers, knights and sergeants decided on a suicidal night sortie, preferring—in the language of the adaptations—honourable death in battle to disgraceful slaughter within the walls. At this critical juncture, Eraclius mobilized his considerable expertise in pleading to dissuade the Jerusalemites from taking this desperate step. Wisely starting by praising the plan on principle, he is said to have advised against its adoption in the prevailing circumstances, stressing the Christian duty of his listeners towards their kinsfolk and astutely avoiding all reference to their self-preservation. If the men were to fall in battle, he argued, their women and children would be forced by the victorious Saracens to apostatize from Christianity and thus, by attaining for themselves salvation on the battlefield, the men would allow the women and children to lose their souls. Therefore he advised them to negotiate for an evacuation. The patriarch's opinion carried the day and Balian was despatched to make terms with Saladin.⁸¹ René Grousset—ironically enough, in 1935—sternly rebuked Eraclius for this display of “defeatism” and went on to evoke with sorrow the memory of anterior patriarchs, “défenseurs de la cité et animateurs de la Vertu franque”;⁸² a less *gloire*-thirsty observer may conclude that but for Eraclius the number of sanguinary pages in the annals of the crusades might have been still larger than it already is.

The adaptations of Ernoul insist that when the ransom dues were agreed upon after considerable haggling, Eraclius and Balian threw all their weight into ensuring the safe departure of as many as possible of those citizens of Jerusalem who could not afford to pay. First they persuaded the Hospitallers to place at their disposal the treasure sent by Henry II and earmarked its 30,000

80 *Libellus*, p. 245. According to the longer adaptation, a sergeant guarding the breach was paid one besant per day and one besant per night: *Eraclies* 23.56, p. 85. The problematic letter of an otherwise unknown Bishop William has the following story: “Die vero septima ceperunt turrim novam, quam construxerant fratres Hospitalis, et intraverunt eam cum tribus signis. Quod cernens patriarcha accepta cruce domini promisit multa munera, quicumque eam liberaret, nec est inventus, qui se tali opponeret periculo, nisi Svevus quidam miles, qui superne remuneratione gratia diu serviverat infirmis. Hic constanter ascendens turrim tribus occisis liberavit eam.” *Epistola episcopi Wilhelmi de excidio terre Jehrosolimitane*, ed. R. Röhricht, in his *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* I (Berlin, 1874), 191.

81 *Eraclies* 23.56, p. 86; Ernoul, pp. 214-215.

82 Grousset, *Histoire* 2:811.

besants for the ransom of 7,000 of the poor. Then they appointed two men in each street to have every resident declare his wealth on oath, to determine the number of those in need of aid and to take from those to be ransomed with the help of King Henry's gold all money in excess of the sum necessary to reach Christian-held territory. Through this ingenious scheme, the surplus taken from the 7,000 who were to be redeemed by English money could serve to buy freedom for others who could not have afforded the payment due. Subsequently Eraclius and Balian appealed to the Templars, Hospitallers and burghers to help to ransom the remaining poor, but the response was luke-warm. Then Eraclius went up to Saladin and begged to let him have some of those still unransomed; the sultan gave him five hundred. Balian fared likewise. Still more were allowed to depart at the behest of Saladin and his brother, and thus there remained only 11,000 in the city, but when Eraclius and Balian offered to become hostages in their stead, Saladin refused. Finally, when the ransomed Franks began to depart in three large convoys, Eraclius and Balian chose to lead the last of the three so that they might gain still more opportunities of persuading Saladin to release the remaining Christians, but their efforts were to no avail.⁸³

This detailed account in the adaptations should be taken with more than a grain of salt, for it is quite obvious that Ernoul, Balian's squire in 1187, aimed at defending his erstwhile master against accusations that he had abandoned thousands of Jerusalemites to Saracen servitude. (His repeated references to *le patriarche et Balian*—always in that order in the variant closest to the original—imply that Balian was acting on the patriarch's moral authority.) The sympathetic depiction of Eraclius' activities in October 1187 appears therefore to have been secondary to the chronicler's main purpose; yet this description contrasts so starkly with the devastating portrayal of Eraclius' character and morals in the chapters dealing with the 1180 election, that one may seriously question whether the two sections were penned by the same man. In any case, the account's veracity is dubious. The anonymous author of the *Libellus de expugnatione Terre Sancte* writes that the ransom arrangements "pleased the lord patriarch and the others who had money," and says nothing at all about attempts at saving the poor.⁸⁴ Indeed these attempts seem to have been less exhaustive than they might have been. It is permitted by canon law to break up, melt down and sell sacred vessels, and redeem captives with the proceeds; Gregory I, in a passage incorporated by Gratian into his *Decreta*, explicitly denounces as sinful the preservation of a church's possessions, especially if that

83 *Eraclies* 23.59-64, pp. 88-100, MS D; Ernoul, pp. 217-231.

84 *Libellus*, p. 247.

church is deserted, rather than using them to ransom its people.⁸⁵ However, 'Imād ad-Dīn, Saladin's secretary and an eyewitness of the conquest of Jerusalem, relates that the Franks cleared their churches of all precious objects and that the "grand patriarch" took from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre its gold and silver, its fabrics and its silk tapestries.⁸⁶ 'Imād ad-Dīn's assertions may not be entirely accurate—the silver of the edicule he claims that Eraclius took away with him, had been used, according to the adaptations, to strike the coins with which the city's defenders were paid and according to the *Libellus* the Sepulchre and Calvary were plundered upon the conquest⁸⁷—but Eraclius undoubtedly left Jerusalem with some valuable objects, as the sight gave occasion to an exchange between 'Imād ad-Dīn and Saladin. Eraclius may not have been willing to part with precious furnishings of the kind which had aroused the ire of Ralph Niger; again, it is possible that his religiosity, quite in line with the crusader reverence for holy objects, was more matter-oriented than that of an Ambrose, a Gregory I or a Gratian. In any case, it is noteworthy that no Christian writer, not even the bitter author of the *Libellus*, criticizes Eraclius on this account.⁸⁸

Having left Jerusalem, where his palace soon became a Sūfī convent, Eraclius made his way to the unconquered Frankish possessions along the Syrian littoral.⁸⁹ Nothing is known about his whereabouts and doings during the next year and a half. In the summer of 1188 he probably took part in the assembly in which the *clerus regni* decided to absolve the recently liberated Guy of Lusig-

85 C. 12 q. 2 cc. 13-15, 70; the passage from Gregory I appears in C. 12 q. 2 c. 16. See also E.L. Sadłowski, *Sacred Furnishings of Churches*, Catholic University of America. Canon Law Studies 315 (Washington, 1951), p. 7.

86 'Imād al-Dīn al-İsfahānī, *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Salāḥ al-Dīn*, ed. C. de Landberg (Leiden, 1888), p. 60; French trans. by H. Massé (Paris, 1972), p. 49; 'Imād al-Dīn, *Barq*, quoted in Abū Shāma, RHC HOr. 4:339. Ibn al-Āthīr's claim that the patriarch took with him the treasures of the Dome of the Rock and of al-Aqṣa as well (RHC.HOr. 1:704) is hardly convincing.

87 See the previous note and *Libellus*, p. 250.

88 In his letter to Béla of Hungary, written in Tyre in January 1188, Conrad of Montferrat merely mentions "qualiter [Saladinus] patriarcham et canonicos sepulchrum colentes, monachos omnes et heremitas, virgines deo dicatas servituti sue rediget et redimere fecit." The letter is edited in A. Chroust, *Tageno, Ansbert und die Historia Peregrinorum* (Graz, 1892), pp. 199-201.

89 Sūfī convent: 'Imād al-Dīn, *Conquête*, trans. Massé, pp. 58-59. According to the anonymous author of the *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, probably an English Templar who wrote his account in the Crusading Kingdom some five years later, Eraclius went to Antioch: *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum. Eine zeitgenössische englische Chronik zum dritten Kreuzzug in ursprünglicher Gestalt*, ed. H.E. Mayer, *Schriften der MGH* 18 (Stuttgart, 1962) [hereafter cited as *Itinerarium*, ed. Mayer], p. 266.

nan from the oath he had sworn to Saladin to go overseas for good;⁹⁰ Balian's absolution by Eraclius, less than a year earlier, may have served as a precedent. At any rate, Eraclius decided once more to back Guy and gave him the advice to lay siege to Acre and thus start the reconquest of the country.⁹¹ It was sound advice, for the lackland king had no choice but take the military initiative and attract thereby to his banner the crusaders who were continuously arriving from the West.⁹² The siege began on August 29, 1189 and a few weeks later Eraclius joined Guy at his camp at Toron, the ancient *tell* just outside the walls of Acre, exhibiting once more a willingness to expose himself to danger. (Arnold of Lübeck relates that his arrival heartened many of the besiegers.)⁹³ Later, when the crusader camp swelled with newcomers to the point that it became feasible to seal off the city all around, Guy moved to the northwest but Eraclius remained on Toron, accompanied by the bishops of Acre and Bethlehem and several nobles.⁹⁴ Eraclius used to bless the crusaders as they went into battle,⁹⁵ but his authority over the heterogeneous host must have been rather limited: when in July 1190 Guy and the other leaders forbade unauthorized attacks and Eraclius, in his last public act on record, threatened to excommunicate all transgressors, the *vulgaris* nonetheless went on an ill-conceived raid which ended in disaster.⁹⁶ Like most of his major efforts, Eraclius' final move failed to have the effect he had hoped for.

As patriarch of Jerusalem in the agitated 1180's, Eraclius certainly faced unprecedented difficulties, but his repeated failures should not be ascribed solely to external constraints. An acute observer who in 1184 comprehended the stabilizing potential of a new dynasty and in 1189 perceived the necessity of risking aggressive warfare, an able manipulator who in 1186 helped to mislead and paralyze the opposing faction, a man of considerable courage who in 1187 assumed the hopeless defence of Jerusalem, a deft administrator of ecclesiastical affairs and an able pleader all along, Eraclius failed in his major initiatives also because of an inadequate assessment of the forces at work. To assume that

90 *Itinerarium*, ed. Mayer, p. 304.

91 *Gesta* 2:93; Howden 3:20. *Eracles*, p. 125, MS D, ascribes the advice to besiege *aucune cité* to Guy's brother Geoffrey. The otherwise unknown bishop William claims to have been sent to the pope *consilio legis (regis?) et patriarche nec non primatus totius terre*: *Epistola Wilhelmi*, ed. Röhricht (see n. 80 above), p. 193.

92 Cf. R.C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare (1097-1193)* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 37-38. For a different appraisal see Runciman, *Crusades* 3:22.

93 *Gesta* 2:95. Howden 3:22. Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica* (see n. 66 above), p. 177.

94 Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines historiarum* (see n. 52 above), p. 80. The disposition postdates October 7, the day of Frederick of Swabia's arrival.

95 This can be safely deduced from *Itinerarium*, ed. Mayer, p. 349.

96 *Itinerarium*, ed. Mayer, pp. 330-331; *Libellus*, p. 254; *Gesta* 2:142; Howden 3:70.

Henry II or Philip II would accept direct rule over troubled Outremer was about as unrealistic as to believe that a coup d'etat executed in the teeth of a sizable opposition would inaugurate a stable reign. It was similarly unreasonable, though relatively harmless, to expect that support for a Jacobite pretender might lead to an effective submission of his church. Eraclius' remarkably active career nevertheless yielded some unquestionable benefits for the Crusading Kingdom, especially the part he played in preventing massacre and wholesale destruction in Jerusalem in 1187 and in focusing the Christian counter-attack on Acre in 1189. It may also be said that Eraclius' imagination ran ahead of his times, for the offer Henry II and Philip II spurned in 1185 would have been eagerly seized by a Frederick II or a Charles of Anjou.

In the fall of 1190 Eraclius fell ill and Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury, whom he had met during his European voyage, had to bless the outgoing crusaders in his stead.⁹⁷ Roger of Howden writes that after the death of Sybil — which must have occurred in October 1190 — Eraclius was among those who advised that the marriage of her sister Isabel to Humphrey of Toron should be annulled and that she should be married to Conrad of Montferrat. The more reliable sources on this event do not, however, mention Eraclius as playing a role in it and the well-informed author of the *Itinerarium peregrinorum* notes that Archbishop Baldwin, taking the place of the sick patriarch, vehemently censured the scheme.⁹⁸ It is a measure of the decline in Eraclius' importance that none of the chroniclers of the siege of Acre troubled to record the date of his death, but one may safely assume that he succumbed there to his illness in the closing months of 1190.⁹⁹ He must have then been about sixty years old. His erstwhile fellow students at Bologna, pursuing their careers far from the excitement of Outremer and the deprivations of camp life, survived him by several years: Cardinal Gratian died in 1197, Richard Barre in 1202, Étienne of Tournai in 1203.

97 *Itinerarium*, ed. Mayer, p. 349.

98 *Gesta* 2:141; Howden 3:70-71; Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines*, p. 86; *Eracles* 25.11, p. 152; Ernoul, p. 267; *Itinerarium*, ed. Mayer, p. 353.

99 *Gesta* 2:147, Howden 3:87, list him among the dead during the siege; so does Ambroise, *L'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, ed. G. Paris (Paris, 1897), lines 5591-5592. The statement in *Eracles*, p. 203, MS D, may be discarded. It is noteworthy that Archbishop Monachus of Caesarea, who dedicates several lines of his poem to the death of the archbishops of Ravenna, Canterbury and Besançon and the bishop of Faenza, does not mention the death of Eraclius — or of Sybil — at all: *Haymari Monachi liber*, ed. Riant (n. 38 above), pp. 37-38.

IX

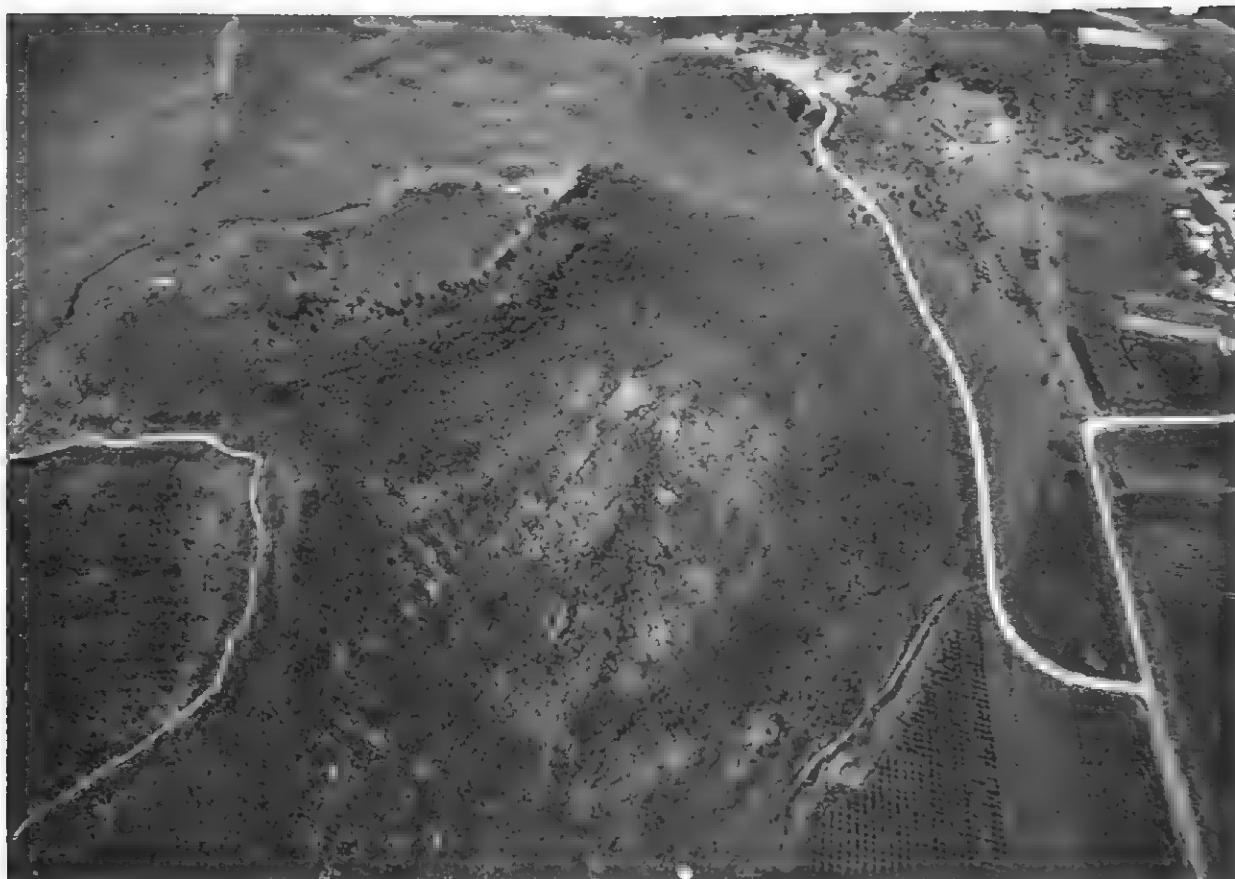
The Battle of Ḥaṭṭīn Revisited

Just fifteen words of his multi-volume *Geschichte der Kriegskunst* did Hans Delbrück, the eminent military historian, devote to the Battle of Ḥaṭṭīn, giving the opinion that it yields nothing of importance for the history of warfare.¹ This may well be the case. But a battle's contribution to the art of war is not necessarily commensurate with its political significance and, still less so, with the fascination it holds for posterity. Ḥaṭṭīn, a climax in the history of crusade and *djihād*, is replete with high drama: Saladin's calculated thrust at Tiberias, eliciting King Guy's seesaw reactions at Saforie; the weary Franks encircled on the arid plateau during the night that preceded the final battle; the flight of the thirst-stricken Frankish foot soldiers to the Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn overlooking the inaccessible waters of Lake Tiberias; the last Frankish cavalry charges almost reaching Saladin, tugging at his beard in agitation; the encounter between the triumphant Saladin and the captured Frankish leaders, with the victor killing his archenemy with his own hand. Small wonder that historians turn their attention to this battle time and again. During the last twenty-five years no less than three major reconstructions have been put forward. In 1964, Joshua Prawer published his "La bataille de Ḥaṭṭīn," which contributed inter alia to the understanding of the Lower Galilee road system at the time of the battle. In 1966, Peter Herde came out with his "Die Kämpfe bei den Hörnern von Hittin und der Untergang des Kreuzritterheeres (3. und 4. Juli 1187). Eine historisch-topographische Studie," the most detailed account of the events offered to date, based on painstaking scrutiny of the sources and the battlefield. In 1982, Malcolm C. Lyons and D.E.P. Jackson dedicated a chapter of their book on Saladin to Ḥaṭṭīn, utilizing for the first time an account of the battle written after the capture of Acre on 10 July 1187.²

The present attempt is a by-product of the Second SSCLÉ Conference.

1 Hans Delbrück, *Geschichte der Kriegskunst im Rahmen der politischen Geschichte*, vol. 3: *Das Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1907), p. 421.

2 Prawer's article was published in *Israel Exploration Journal* 14 (1964), 160-179; for a slightly expanded English version see his *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 484-500. Herde's article appeared in *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 61 (1966), 1-50. The reconstruction by Lyons and Jackson appears in their *Saladin: The Politics of the Holy War* (Cambridge, 1982), ch. 16. C.P. Melville and M.C. Lyons have edited and translated Saladin's letter in the present volume, pp. 216-220.



Aerial view of Horns of Hattin from east (photo by Moshe Milner)

Seeking an appropriate site for the session scheduled to take place at the Horns of Hattin, I went over the terrain with Eliot Braun, the archaeologist, who made me aware of Zvi Gal's survey of the ancient walls along the circumference of the horns and Gal's excavations of an isolated medieval structure on the summit of the southern horn; this led to the identification (or rather reidentification) of that structure with the Dome of Victory that Saladin had erected on the horns following the battle. Later, the Lower Galilee Regional Council asked me to provide a brief description of the battle, which was to be placed on a signpost at the horns on the occasion of the SSCLE conference. Attempting to condense the story into a signpost text of some 200 words I became acutely aware of the limits of scholarly consensus on the issue; but I also came upon some new, or hitherto unutilized, facts. First, I gained knowledge of the considerable progress archaeologists have made in recent years with regard to the ancient road network in Lower Galilee, and especially of the discovery in 1983—just south of Khirbat Maskana and about 1.8 kilometers northwest of Lübiya/Lubie—of the intersection of two Roman roads. Israel Roll of Tel Aviv University, who was the first to realize the importance of this discovery, was kind enough to put at my disposal the evidence (much of which remains unpublished) that he has gathered about the roads of the region; the roads marked on Figure 1 are largely based on his information.³ Second, I learned that discharge measurements of the

3 For a survey of Roman roads in Lower Galilee see also Yig'al Teper and Yūval Shahar,

springs in the region, some of which go back to the 1920s, may shed some light on the events of 3 July 1187. Visits to the ruins of Kafṣ Sabt and Kh. Maskana — under the guidance of Yossi Buchman and Naphtali Madar of the Allon Tabor Field School — also proved helpful. Finally, I came to realize that a description of the battle which ‘Abd Allah b. Ahmad al-Muqaddasī wrote on 13 Djumāda II 583/20 August 1187, and sent to Baghdad, and which Abū Shāma later included in his *Kitāb al-rāwdatayn*,⁴ should be ascribed to the prolific and influential Ḥanbalī jurisconsult Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd Allah b. Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Qudāma al-Ḥanbalī al-Muqaddasī [hereafter al-Muqaddasī]. His father was the Ḥanbalī preacher Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Qudāma who lived under Frankish rule in Djammā’īl, a village southwest of Nablus, fled in 1156 to Damascus and initiated the exodus of his relatives and disciples to that city. Al-Muqaddasī, born in 1146 in Djammā’īl, was ten years old at the time of that exodus; he studied in Damascus and Baghdad, and took part — together with his much older brother Abū ‘Umar and his cousin ‘Abd al-Ghānī — in Saladin’s expeditions against the Franks, including that of 1187.⁵ The battle account by this learned refugee from the Frankish Kingdom stands out for its sobriety and factual detail when compared with the florid effusions of the other Muslim eyewitness, ‘Imād al-Dīn, and should be ranked high among the sources on the battle.

By 1187, experience must have taught Saladin that nothing short of a clear-cut showdown would give him victory over the Franks. In November 1177, his deep but largely unopposed thrust into the southern coastal plain of Palestine had ended in resounding defeat at Montgisard; in July 1182 his advance into the Jordan Valley and Lower Galilee had come to a standstill with the inconclusive battle near Forbelet; in August 1182 his fleet and army had failed to take the crucially important city of Beirut by a well-coordinated surprise attack; in October 1183, with the rival armies encamped near copious springs in the eastern Jezreel Valley, he had not been able to provoke the Franks into battle; and his deep raid into central Palestine in September 1184 had not perceptibly weakened them. Saladin’s moves in June 1187 leave no doubt that this time he was resolved to force a full-scale, decisive battle.

Jewish Settlements in Galilee and Their Hideaway Systems (n.p., 1984), pp. 128-139 (in Hebrew).

4 RHC HOr. 4:286-287. The letter was sent “from Ascalon” — i.e., from the Muslim army that was besieging that town. Ascalon surrendered on 5 September 1187.

5 On the Ḥanbalī exodus see Emmanuel Sivan, “Refugiés syro-palestiniens au temps des Croisades,” *Revue des études islamiques* 35 (1967), 135-147 and Joseph Drory, “Ḥanbalīs of the Nablus Region in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries,” *Asian and African Studies* 22 (1988), 92-112. For information on Muwaffaq al-Dīn and his work see Henri Laoust, *Le précis de droit d’Ibn Qudāma* (Beirut, 1950), pp. ix-xlii; and Drory, “Ḥanbalīs,” p. 104. It should be noted that Abū Shāma refers also to Ibn Shaddād without mentioning his *laqab* (honorific title), Bahā’ al-Dīn: RHC HOr. 4:280. Cf. Dominique Sourdel, “Deux documents relatifs à la communauté ḥanbalite de Damas,” *Bulletin d’études orientales* 25 (1972), 142-143.

On 18 Rabī II 583/27 June 1187, a Saturday, Saladin reached al-Uqhuwāna, at the southern end of Lake Tiberias, and set up camp near the village of Ṣinnabra, the site of a ruined Umayyad castle. On Tuesday, 21 Rabī II/30 June, he moved northwestward to the village of Kafr Sabt, leaving his heavy baggage in al-Uqhuwāna. The first date is derived from the account of 'Imād al-Dīn, the second is given by Bahā' al-Dīn, who also mentions the encampment near Ṣinnabra; the place name Kafr Sabt and the detail that Saladin moved to this village without his heavy baggage are supplied by al-Muqaddasī.⁶

Kafr Sabt—a village that belonged to the abbey of Mount Tabor, and the place of origin of one of its turcopoles⁷—lies near the eastern edge of a sizable plateau, just to the south of the main road that, at least from Late Bronze times onward, linked Acre with the Jordan Valley and Transjordan (see fig. 1).⁸ Southeast of Kafr Sabt, this road runs along Wādī Fidjdjās, which provides the most gradual descent to the Jordan in the region. Climbing the road from the Jordan, it is at Kafr Sabt that one gets one's first view of the plateau as well as of Mount Tabor, the mountains northeast of Nazareth, Mount Ṭur'ān, and the Horns of Hattīn. The terrain west and northwest of Kafr Sabt is easy to traverse, with the main road running toward Acre through broad valleys or plains. About 2 kilometers east of Kafr Sabt, a road—possibly a Roman one—branches off the main Acre-Transjordan road and leads northeastward to Tiberias. Saladin most probably advanced to Kafr Sabt by the road ascending along Wādī Fidjdjās; in any case, it could have served him for a speedy retreat to the Jordan Valley. At Kafr Sabt, Saladin had an ample supply of water: the large springs in Wādī Fidjdjās, the waters of which were carried in antiquity to Tiberias by aqueduct, were easily accessible;⁹ water could also be hauled from the Jordan; and there is a small perennial spring just northeast of the village. By occupying Kafr Sabt, Saladin controlled one of the roads leading from the Frankish camp

6 'Imād al-Dīn al-İṣfahānī, *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Salāḥ al-Dīn*, ed. Carlo de Landberg (Leiden, 1888), p. 20, French trans. Henri Massé (Paris, 1972), p. 22; Bahā' al-Dīn in RHC HOr. 3:93 and in Abū Shāma, RHC HOr. 4:282; al-Muqaddasī in Abū Shāma, RHC HOr. 4:286. On the site of the encampment see L.A. Mayer, "Aṣ-Ṣinnabra," *Eretz-Israel* 1 (Jerusalem, 1951), 169-170 (in Hebrew).

7 For the sources mentioning the *casale* Capharseth see Gustav Beyer, "Die Kreuzfahrergebiete Akko und Galilaea," *ZDPV* 67 (1944-45), 218. The turcopole Petrus de Cafarset (or Capharset) is mentioned in 1163 and 1180: Delaville, *Cartulaire*, 2:905, 909.

8 Aapeli Saarisalo, "Topographical Researches in Galilee," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 9 (1929), 30-36, and 10 (1937), 7; Bustenay 'Oded, "Darb al-ḥawarneh—An Ancient Route," *Eretz-Israel* 10 (Jerusalem, 1971), 191-197 (in Hebrew).

9 See Zalman S. Winogradov, "The Ancient Aqueduct of Tiberias," in D. 'Amit, Y. Hirschfeld, and J. Paṭrich, eds., *The Aqueducts of Ancient Palestine: Collected Essays* (Jerusalem, 1989), pp. 123-132 (in Hebrew). Discharge measurements of the springs in Wādī Fidjdjās are available for some dates from 1928 onward. For instance, the discharge measured on 16 July 1946, amounted to 0.061 m³/sec.—that is, 219,600 liters per hour. Palestine, Department of Land Settlement and Water Commissioner, Irrigation Service, *Water Measurements 1945/46* (Jerusalem, 1947), p. 162. I would like to thank Mr. Yig'al Cohen, of Ramat Ha-Sharōn, for his help with matters hydrological.

at Şaffūriya / Saforie to Tiberias and could easily strike at either destination.¹⁰ The stretch of the more northerly Roman road to Tiberias which extends from the village of Tur‘ān via Kh. Maskana to Lūbiya / Lubie is not visible from Kafr Sabt; but Saladin probably sent a part of his huge army to Lūbiya / Lubie, just 4 kilometers of easy ascent northwest of Kafr Sabt, to gain thereby direct control of that road too.¹¹

Saladin, so relates al-Muqaddasī, stayed at Kafr Sabt for two days—that is, until 23 Rabī II / 2 July. The well-informed, anonymous author of the *Libellus de expugnatione Terrae Sanctae* reports that the Muslim troops roamed throughout the region, from Tiberias to Bethsan and Nazareth, setting everything on fire; they also ascended Mount Tabor and desecrated the sanctuary at its summit.¹² Saladin himself rode westward to the Springs of Saforie to lure the Franks into battle but, predictably, failed; as in the Jezreel Valley in 1183, the Franks refused to budge. In a letter written about three months later, Saladin claims that he went on to search “in the plain of Lūbiya”—that is, near the Horns of Haṭṭīn—for a suitable battlefield that could accommodate both armies.¹³ Then, on Thursday, 23 Rabī II / 2 July, Saladin descended on Tiberias and laid siege to it, evidently hoping to induce the Franks to leave the Springs of Saforie and come to the rescue of Galilee’s capital. One may surmise that siege equipment from al-Uq̄huwāna was brought up the western shore of Lake Tiberias. Saladin’s men soon breached the wall and occupied the town, and the lady of Tiberias, beleaguered in the citadel on the lake’s shore, sent a messenger to Saforie to call for help. King Guy, who must have remembered that the adoption of a defensive stance under similar circumstances in October 1183 had caused his ousting from office, and who might have needed some large-scale action to justify the hiring of mercenaries with money that Henry II of England had deposited in Jerusalem, finally made up his mind to march to Tiberias.¹⁴

It is reasonable to assume that the Franks, with their destination some 30 kilometers away, left Saforie early in the morning of 3 July, but the precise hour must remain conjectural. Also unclear is the route of the first part of their march to Tiberias. The layout of the ancient roads in the vicinity of Saforie has not yet

10 Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, p. 256.

11 Since ‘Imād al-Dīn reports that before the assault on Tiberias the Muslims passed the night on the plain of Lūbiya (‘Imād al-Dīn, *Conquête*, ed. Landberg, p. 105, French trans. Massé, p. 95, German trans. in Jörg Kraemer, *Der Sturz des Königreichs Jerusalem [583/1187] in der Darstellung des ‘Imād ad-Dīn al-Kātib al-Isfahānī* [Wiesbaden, 1952], p. 14), and since Ibn Shaddād writes that Saladin camped on a mountain west of Tiberias (RHC HOr. 3:93), Herde concluded that on 30 June Saladin moved from al-Uq̄huwāna via Kafr Sabt to Lūbiya: Herde (note 2 above), p. 13. The explicit statement by al-Muqaddasī should however be preferred.

12 RHC HOr. 4:286; *De expugnatione Terrae Sanctae libellus*, ed. J. Stevenson, RS 66 (London, 1875), p. 219.

13 ‘Imād al-Dīn, *Conquête*, ed. Landberg, p. 105, trans. Massé, p. 95, trans. Kraemer, p. 14.

14 For reconstructions of Guy’s reasoning see R.C. Smail, “The Predicaments of Guy of Lusignan, 1183-87,” in *Outremer*, pp. 159-176; Hans E. Mayer, “Henry II of England and the Holy Land,” *English Historical Review* 97 (1982), 721-739; Geoffrey Regan, *Saladin and the Fall of Jerusalem* (London, 1987), pp. 110-114.

been conclusively established. The main Roman road from Tiberias westward has been traced to a spot about 3 kilometers northeast of Saforie. Near this spot, the inner width of the road amounts to 10.40 meters; the overall width of the road, including curbstones, to 13.20 meters; and the width of the embankment to 15.80 meters. No other road of Roman Palestine is known to have been that wide. A milestone found at this spot indicates a distance of 2 miles to Diocaesarea (i.e., Zippōrī/Şaffūriya/Saforie) and we may therefore assume that there existed also a road between that milestone and Saforie. In addition, remains have been found of an ancient—possibly Roman—road that by-passed Saforie from the northwest, and of another road that ascended through hilly ground from Saforie east-southeast to Mashhad (see fig. 1). No ancient remains have been spotted along the alternative route from the Springs of Saforie to Mashhad suggested by Prawer, which first follows the dry bed of Wādī Malik/*Nahal* Zippōrī and then ascends northeastward to Mashhad.¹⁵ In general, one should not overemphasize the importance of roads for Frankish or Muslim field armies, for as R.C. ('Otto') Smail had judiciously remarked, these armies "were not dependent upon supplies brought up by wheeled vehicles from a base, and so were not limited to the use of certain roads."¹⁶ Indeed, the report of the Old French continuations of William of Tyre that the serjeants of the Frankish army captured, tortured and burnt an old Saracen woman at the distance of 2 *lieues* from Nazareth apparently supports the view that the Franks did take the more difficult route from the Springs of Saforie to Mashhad, for Mashhad is situated about 2 leagues northeast of Nazareth.¹⁷ However, the distances noted by medieval chroniclers are all too often rough approximations, so the 2 leagues must not be taken at face value. It is at least as plausible to assume that the Franks, with a long march before them, gave preference to the much easier and only fractionally longer route that led from the Springs of Saforie northward to the wide Roman road, and then eastward along it.

In any case, Muslim scouts observed the Frankish advance. Saladin, then directing the siege of the citadel of Tiberias, was notified and immediately moved westward; we do not know whether via Kafr Sabt or Lūbiya. His men began to harass the Franks. In the letter first utilized by Lyons and Jackson, Saladin relates that at noon the Franks "took one of the waters by marching to it and turning aside" but, contrary to their best interests, "left the water and set

15 Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, p. 491.

16 R.C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare (1097-1193)* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 204.

17 *Cont. WT*, p. 47; *Eracles*, p. 54. Ernoul, p. 163, does not mention the distance. A *lieue* (*leuga*) equals 2,222 meters: Albert Grenier, *Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine*, 2: *L'archéologie du sol: Les routes* (Paris, 1934), pp. 95-96. The Old French passage is discussed by Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, p. 49, note 28, who also mentions that Raymond of Tripoli argued that between Saforie and Tiberias there is only the small spring of Cresson (Ernoul, p. 159). However, this spring is only about one kilometer closer to Mashhad than to the Roman road. If indeed the Franks chose to traverse the broken ground to Mashhad, one may speculate that they did not there turn northeastward to Kafr Kanna but continued north-northeast along a route dotted by several small springs, Cresson being one of them (Yossi Buchman's suggestion).

out towards Tiberias." Lyons and Jackson assume that the spring in question was that of Ṭur‘ān.¹⁸ This is indeed plausible, as that spring lies less than 3 kilometers north of the road presumably taken by the Franks; in fact, Prawer, writing before Saladin's letter became known, saw fit to explain why the Franks had passed so close to the spring of Ṭur‘ān without taking advantage of its waters.¹⁹ How should we best interpret King Guy's decision to leave the spring and continue the march eastward—a decision that Saladin considered a blatant mistake? Lyons and Jackson believe that Guy's advance eastward was a mere probe; if the Muslims were to attack from their main camp near Kafr Sibt, the Franks would be able to pin them against the north-south ridge situated east of the village of Ṭur‘ān; if the Muslims were to stay at Kafr Sibt, and their position would appear to be unassailable, the Franks could return to the spring of Ṭur‘ān and neutralize Saladin's threat to the citadel of Tiberias by repeated thrusts in the direction of the main Muslim camp. The probe was tactically sound, but it failed because Guy was not aware of the vastness of the Muslim forces. Numerical superiority allowed Saladin to hold the ridge as well as send his two wings to the spring of Ṭur‘ān, seize it, and prevent the Franks from retreating to it. According to Lyons and Jackson, it was this move that won Saladin the battle.²⁰

This is an ingenious reconstruction, based almost entirely on an assessment of the terrain and the opportunities it offered the opposing armies. A simpler solution is suggested by discharge measurements of the springs of Saforie, Ḥaṭṭīn, and Ṭur‘ān in recent times. Of course, it would be rash to assume that spring yields in Galilee remained constant between the twelfth century and the present, but there are reasons to suppose that the relative importance of the various springs did not change markedly. Thus the Springs of Saforie, at which the Frankish army assembled on several occasions, are the most abounding in Lower Galilee: one of them, 'Eyn Zippōrī/'Ayn al-Qastal, yielded no less than 108,000 liters per hour on 7 August 1949, and 86,400 liters per hour on 13 July 1950. The two springs at the village of Ḥaṭṭīn, "ou il a eve de fontaines à grant planté" according to the *Eracles*, and which the Franks presumably attempted to reach at a later stage of their advance on Tiberias, also supply a considerable quantity of water: on 4 July 1949, it amounted to 33,840 liters per hour, and on 20 July 1950, to 17,280 liters per hour.²¹ The discharge of other springs in the

18 Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, p. 259. For the text see the article by Melville and Lyons in the present volume.

19 Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, p. 493. Another possibility is that Saladin's letter refers to the springs of Ḥaṭṭīn; but the account in the letter does not tie in with the description of the struggle for those springs given in one of the Old French continuations of William of Tyre, to be discussed below.

20 Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, pp. 259-261. The authors do not explain, though, why Guy did not leave behind a force to guard the spring; cf. Hannes Möhring, "Saladins Politik des Heiligen Krieges," *Der Islam* 61 (1984), 325.

21 Israel, Ministry of Agriculture, Water Department, Hydrological Service, *Hydrological Year-Book of Israel, 1947/48-1949/50* (Jerusalem, 1950), pp. 483 ('Ayn al-Qastal), 526

region is far more limited. Thus Mary's Fountain in Nazareth yielded about 4,000 liters per hour in the spring of 1918, and just one-fourth of that toward the end of the dry season.²² Yield data for most other springs are not available, since their meager discharges have not been deemed important enough to warrant measurement.²³ This is true of the spring of Cresson, described by Raymond of Tripoli as "une petite fontaine,"²⁴ and of 'Ayn Ṭur'ān (or 'Ayn al-Balad), situated in the mountains about 1.5 kilometers northwest of the village of Ṭur'ān. On 12 July 1989, Shim'on Mishqal of the Tiberias Bureau of the Israel Hydrological Service kindly agreed to measure for me the discharge of 'Ayn Ṭur'ān, on which no earlier data were available. The discharge amounted to 180 liters per hour, a mere fraction of that of the springs of Saforie or Hattin.²⁵ One may surmise, therefore, that the spring above Ṭur'ān, while able to quell the thirst of a number of Franks on 3 July 1187, was insufficient to sustain an army numbering many thousands of men and horses. Whatever King Guy's blunders, the move from Ṭur'ān was hardly one of them.

The bulk of the Frankish army appears to have managed to advance only about 3 or 4 kilometers east of Ṭur'ān. The letter utilized by Lyons and Jackson relates that Saladin sent his nephew Taqī al-Dīn, as well as Muẓaffar al-Dīn, to seize "the water" (presumably Ṭur'ān); and al-Muqaddasī writes that Taqī al-Dīn commanded the Muslim right wing, Muẓaffar al-Dīn the left, and Saladin himself the center. It seems reasonable to assume, then—as do Lyons and Jackson—that the two wings made their way to "the water" around the Frankish army.²⁶ It follows that from this point the Franks were virtually surrounded. Indeed, this is what al-Muqaddasī explicitly states, adding that the Muslim center was behind the Franks. The *Libellus de expugnatione Terrae Sanctae* relates that the Templars in the rear came under a crushing Turkish attack.²⁷ These last two pieces of information tie in to indicate that the Templars in the Frankish rear had to bear the brunt of the attacking Muslim center under Saladin. The clash of Muslim center and Frankish rear suggests that the Muslims were charging from the high ground in the south against the Franks, who were

('Ayn Hattin), 527 ('Ayn al-Nabī Shu'ayb). Of the measurements available, I chose those closest to 3 July; the original data are in m^3/sec . For the quotation, see *Eracles*, p. 62.

22 Paul Range, *Nazareth*, Das Land der Bibel, 4.2 (Leipzig, 1923), p. 12. Dr. Range, while serving in the German army during World War I, unearthed a spring in the western part of the town that yielded 500 liters per hour.

23 See Sophia Schmorak and M.J. Goldschmidt, "Springs," in *Atlas of Israel* (Jerusalem and Amsterdam, 1970), Sheet 5.2 (Hydrology).

24 Ernoul, p. 159.

25 The discharge of 'Ayn al-Nabī Shu'ayb does not appear to have changed much between 1949 and 1988: both on 2 September 1949, and on 12 December 1988, it amounted to 18,000 liters per hour. For the first datum see *Hydrological Year-Book* (note 21 above), p. 527; for the second I am indebted again to Mr. Mishqal.

26 For Saladin's letter see pp. 216-220 below; al-Muqaddasī in *Abū Shāma*, RHC HOr. 4:286; Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin* (note 2 above), p. 261.

27 al-Muqaddasī, p. 287 (I would like to thank my colleague Etan Kohlberg for having clarified for me the meaning of this and other Arabic passages). *Libellus* (note 12 above), pp. 222-223.

advancing eastward along the valley of Tur'ān — 'Imād al-Dīn indeed reports that, before the attack, the Muslims saw the Franks from above²⁸ — and that by the time the Muslim center launched its attack, the Frankish van and center were already east of the area where the clash was to take place.

According to the *Libellus*, the van under Raymond of Tripoli advanced close to the steep descent to Lake Tiberias. Raymond urged the king to go ahead swiftly so that the army might fight its way to the water. The king promised to do so but, because of the Turkish pressure on the Frankish rear, suddenly changed his mind and gave orders to encamp on the spot. Raymond considered this decision a fatal mistake: a vigorous push to the lake could have saved the army, encampment on the arid plateau made its defeat inevitable. On the other hand, one version of the Old French continuation of William of Tyre relates that it was Raymond who believed it to be impossible to reach Tiberias on that day and therefore advised the king to turn left, descend to the village of Habatin (i.e., Hattīn) and its springs, and continue to Tiberias on the following day. But the turn to the left brought the Franks into disarray, and the Turks succeeded in seizing the springs ahead of them.²⁹ Other Old French versions claim that in view of the Turkish pressure, Raymond advised the king to set up camp on the plateau.³⁰ All Old French versions brand Raymond's advice a *mauvais conseil*, and report that men who had participated in the campaign were of the opinion that if the Franks had gone on the attack at this juncture they could have defeated the Turks. Thus both the *Libellus* and the Old French versions believe that the Franks should have pressed on to Tiberias; they differ in that the *Libellus* holds the king guilty of aborting the attack whereas the Old French versions lay the blame on Raymond. Perhaps neither of these two old rivals acted resolutely enough at the crucial moment and mutual recriminations began immediately thereafter.

The Old French version which reports that the Franks failed in their attempt to reach the springs of Hattīn goes on to relate that they stopped on the summit of a mountain called Carnehatin (i.e., the Horns of Hattīn), that Raymond advised setting up camp there, and that the king accepted his advice. This account — which contrasts starkly with all reliable descriptions of the battle that took place the following day — ought to be dismissed. The *Libellus* on the other hand relates that the Frankish advance on 3 July came to a halt at a *casale* called

28 'Imād al-Dīn, *Conquête*, ed. Landberg, p. 106, trans. Massé, p. 96; see also ed. Landberg, p. 23, trans. Massé, p. 25.

29 *Libellus*, p. 223; *Eracles*, pp. 62-63. The account in this version of the *Eracles* is partially corroborated by the one discovered by Jean Richard in Vat. Reg. lat. 598, which states that "eadem die nostri gessere fortius ubique; aquam preoccupatam ab hostibus perdiderunt": Jean Richard, "An Account of the Battle of Hattin Referring to the Frankish Mercenaries in Oriental Moslem States," *Speculum* 27 (1952), 175; for a different wording see Robert d'Auxerre, *Chronicon*, ed. O. Holder-Egger (1882), MGH SS 26:249. See also 'Imād al-Dīn, *Conquête*, ed. Landberg, p. 23, trans. Massé, p. 25.

30 *Eracles*, MS C, pp. 60-61; Ernoul, pp. 167-168; *Cont. WT*, p. 52.

Marescalcia;³¹ and it stands to reason that the Franks spent the night of 3 July at this place, since in an act drawn up only a few weeks later the remaining leaders of the Frankish Kingdom mentioned that the defeat of 4 July took place *supra manescalciam Tyberiadis*.³²

Prawer argued convincingly that Marescalcia / Manescalcia should be identified with Talmudic *Mashkena* and Arabic *Maskana*.³³ In modern times, *Maskana* has been a ruin. But the Ottoman cadastral register of 1555-56 lists it as a village, and that of 1596-97 discloses that it was then inhabited by 47 families; accordingly, it was similar in size to *Tur'ān* but much smaller than nearby *Lūbiya*, which numbered 182 families.³⁴ There are grounds therefore for believing that the reference of the *Libellus* to Marescalcia as a *casale*, or village, is accurate, and that the place was indeed inhabited in 1187. Prawer assumed that Marescalcia was situated on a secondary road leading northeastward to the village of *Haṭṭīn*. However, in the early 1980s, a stretch of the main Roman road in the region, linking Acre with Tiberias, was (re)discovered north of the modern highway, just 300 meters south of *Khirbat Maskana*. The stretch is visible in several aerial photographs—as in that taken on 4 March 1961 (fig. 2). The main Roman road intersects with a local north-south road of the same period (see arrow D on fig. 2); at the crossroads, the inner width of the main road amounts to 5.80 meters, the overall width inclusive of curbstones to 6.60 meters, and the width of the embankment to 10.30 meters. East of the crossroads, the main road contains many basalt plates fitted together (fig. 3). West of the crossroads, between the main road and *Khirbat Maskana*, is a pool—*Birkat Maskana*—originally a crater. About 40 by 40 meters in extent, it is surrounded by large basalt stones, with traces of a water inlet at the northeastern corner (see figs. 2 and 4). A Roman milestone, now in the museum of Kibbutz Deganya Beth, was found close to it.³⁵

31 *Eracles*, p. 63; *Libellus*, p. 223.

32 Cesare Imperiale di Sant' Angelo, ed., *Codice diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1938), Doc. 170, p. 318. Röhricht believes that the act dates from the end of July 1187: RRH 659.

33 Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, pp. 489-490.

34 For *Maskana* in the register of 1555-56 see H. Rhode, "The Geography of the Sixteenth-Century Sancak of Ṣafad," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 10 (1985), 199; Rhode does not provide details on population. According to the register of 1596-97 there were 47 heads of families (plus one unmarried man) in *Maskana*, 48 in *Tur'ān*, 29 in *Kafr Sabt*, 182 (plus 32 unmarried men) in *Lūbiya*, 86 (plus 24) in *Haṭṭīn*, and 366 (plus 34) in *Ṣaffūriya*: Wolf-Dieter Hüttner and Kamal Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography of Palestine, Transjordan and Southern Syria in the Late 16th Century* (Erlangen, 1977), pp. 187 (*Lūbiya*), 188 (*Ṣaffūriya*, *Kafr Sabt*, *Tur'ān*), 189 (*Maskana*), 190 (*Haṭṭīn*). Quaresmius speaks of "Meschina villula, re et nomine:" Franciscus Quaresmius, *Elucidatio Terrae Sanctae*, 2 (Antwerp, 1631), p. 856a.

35 The most detailed description of *Birkat Maskana* is that by Gustaf Dalman in his "Jahresbericht des Instituts für das Arbeitsjahr 1913/14," *Palästinajahrbuch des Deutschen Evangelischen Instituts für Altertumswissenschaft des heiligen Landes zu Jerusalem* 10 (1914), 41. I am indebted to Israel Roll for the data on the Roman roads; see also Teper and *Şahar*, *Jewish Settlements* (note 3 above), pp. 129-130.



Fig. 2. Aerial photo of Roman road near Khirbat Maskana, 4 March 1961 (Survey of Israel, S. 49, photo 0407)

A-C: Roman road; B-C: modern road; D: intersection of two Roman roads; M: Kh. Maskana

It follows that during the night of 3 July the Franks were encamped on or near the Roman road to Tiberias. Birkat Maskana was probably already in existence—Gustaf Dalman assumed that it originated in an “uralte Zeit”—but is it reasonable to assume that it contained water that late in the year? Two guidebooks, compiled at a time when travelers and troopers depended on information about water almost as much as in the Middle Ages, suggest that it is. Baedeker’s guidebook of 1912 refers to “the ruins and water-basin of Birket Meskana”; and the *Handbook on Northern Palestine and Southern Syria*, printed in Cairo in April 1918 by General Allenby’s intelligence officers in preparation for the British drive on Nazareth and Damascus, says: “Birket Meskeneh, large rain-water pool is passed to r.; it generally contains water, which is used only for



Fig. 3. Main Roman road east of crossroads (photo by author)

animals.”³⁶ Aerial photographs indicate that the pool was full of water on 26 January 1945, and nearly so on 4 March 1961 (see fig. 2), but that on 13 July 1963 it was dry.³⁷ So it was when visited on 8 June 1989 (see fig. 4). Yet it is possible that when Maskana was still inhabited, the pool was carefully maintained and contained some water even at the beginning of July. The same goes for the six large, rock-hewn cisterns on the northern, northwestern, and southern slopes of Kh. Maskana. In fact, ‘Imād al-Dīn (and Ibn al-Athīr) relate that the Franks emptied the reservoirs of the vicinity.³⁸ Whatever water they found there certainly did not suffice, for most sources stress the thirst endured that night by the Franks. But, given the constraint of having to set up camp on the plateau, the choice of Maskana appears more sensible than hitherto supposed.³⁹

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36 Karl Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria* (Leipzig, 1912), p. 252; *Handbook on Northern Palestine and Southern Syria*, first provisional edition (Cairo, 9 April 1918), p. 186; also, p. 202. The *Handbook* mentions also that to the right of the Tiberias-Nazareth road “a stretch of the Roman road is well preserved for two or three hundred yards” (p. 186).

37 Palestine Survey, Strip 19, photo 6133 (1945); Survey of Israel, Strip 49, photo 0407 (1961), and Strip 77, photo 2023 (1963). The photographs are kept at the Aerial Photographs Unit of the Hebrew University’s Department of Geography. I would like to thank Dr. Dov Gavish, who heads this unit, for having repeatedly placed these and other photographs at my disposal, and for having granted permission to reproduce the 1961 photo.

38 ‘Imād al-Dīn in Abū Shāma, RHC HOr. 4:267; Ibn al-Athīr in RHC HOr. 1:683.

39 The *Hydrological Year-Book* (note 21 above), p. 481, mentions a spring near Birkat

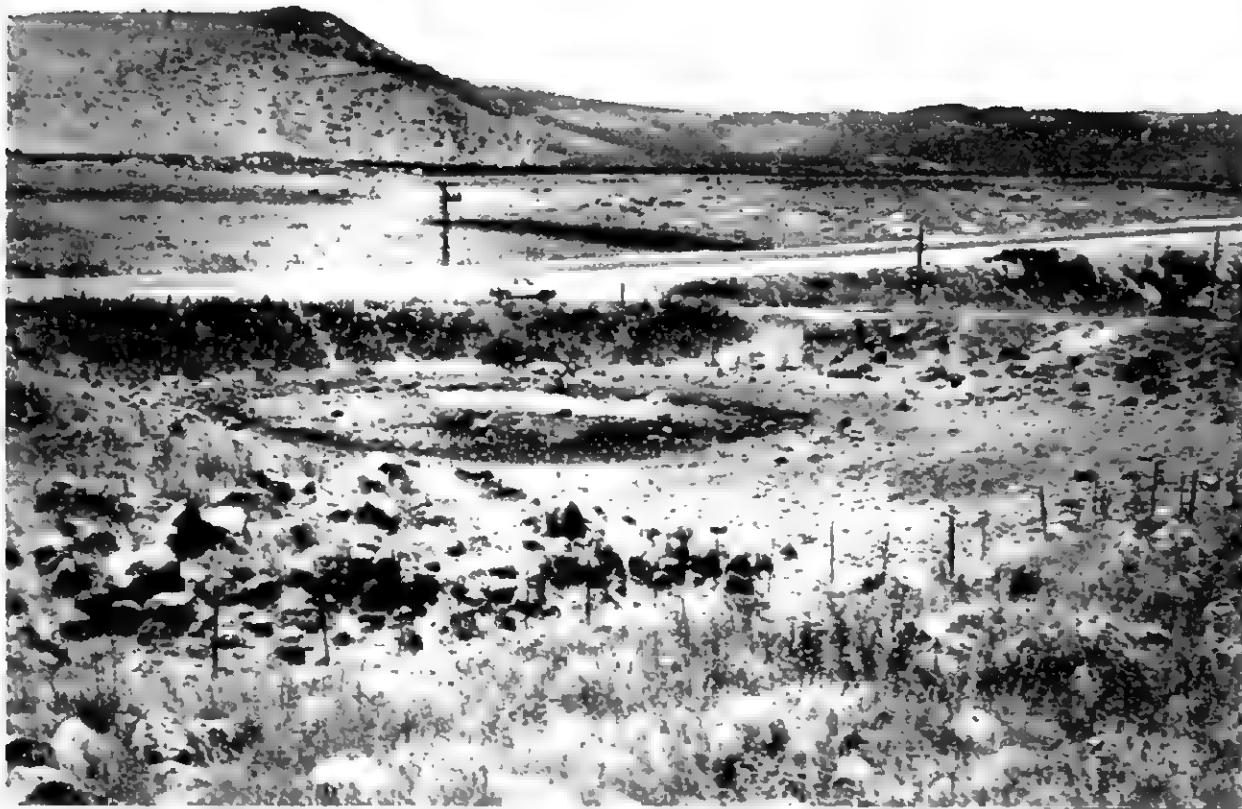


Fig. 4. Birkat Maskana from southeast (photo by author)

During the night, the Muslims tightened their encirclement. Saladin's main camp appears to have been at Lübiya, about 2 kilometers southeast of Måskana. Unlike the Franks, the Muslims had at their disposal all the water they needed, hauled on camelback from the lake. Large quantities of arrows were distributed among the archers in preparation for the expected battle.⁴⁰

On the morning of 4 July/25 Rabī' II, a Saturday, the Franks resumed their march. What was their objective? Did they head northeast trying to reach the springs of Hattīn, as they had done the day before according to one of the Old French versions, or did they march eastward to the lake?⁴¹ Three Muslim writers—al-Muqaddasī, 'Imād al-Dīn, and Ibn al-Athīr—state explicitly that the Franks headed for the lake and that Saladin was determined to prevent them from doing so, whereas the Latin sources interpreted as referring to an advance to the springs may also be understood as indicating a march to the lake.⁴² True,

Maskana, found dry on 19 July 1950. But Yossi Buchman and Naphthali Madar of the Allon Tabor Field School are not aware of the spring's existence.

40 'Imād al-Dīn in Abū Shāma, RHC HOr. 4:266. After the conquest of Tiberias, on his way to Acre, Saladin camped near Lübiya (*ibid.*, p. 293).

41 For the first view see Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, pp. 496-497; for the second, Herde, "Kämpfe," pp. 30-33, and Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, p. 262.

42 al-Muqaddasī in Abū Shāma, RHC HOr. 4:287; 'Imād al-Dīn, *Conquête*, ed. Landberg, p. 107, trans. Massé, p. 96, trans. Kraemer, p. 17; Ibn al-Athīr, RHC HOr. 1:683. See also 'Imād al-Dīn in Abū Shāma, RHC HOr. 4:267. The important letter to Archumbald relates that "ivit rex cum exercitu suo a Naim quasi leugam unam;" *Historia de expeditione Friderici*, ed. A. Chroust (1928), MGH Scr. rer. germ., NS 5:2. But even if

the distance from Maskana to the springs is less than half that to the lake, and in view of the thirst of men and horses this difference might have rendered an advance to the springs more attractive. But as noted earlier, an Old French version relates that the Muslims seized the springs on the preceding day; and if that was so, it stands to reason that they continued to occupy the springs and their approaches. Even if we choose to discard this testimony, it is plausible to assume that Saladin would have countered any Frankish move toward the springs by occupying the approaches from the direction of the plateau and by posting a force at the springs themselves. To reach the springs, the Franks would first have had to overcome the Muslims guarding the approaches, then ride down the slope unprotected by their foot soldiers—who would not have been able to keep pace with them—and finally overwhelm the Muslim archers massed around the springs. Most of these hazards might have been reduced by taking the slightly longer route to the springs that leads from Kh. Maskana northward and then skirts Nimrīn from the northwest; but it is clear from the sources that the Franks did not choose this route. The march to the lake, on the other hand, would have denied the Muslims knowledge of the Franks' precise target, as the waterfront could be reached at several points. Besides, the march might have afforded the Franks an opportunity to launch a full-scale charge against the main body of the Muslim army, a charge of the kind that had given them victory on previous occasions. On balance, therefore, the explicit statements of the Muslim writers—two of them eyewitnesses—should be given credence.

Three Old French versions relate that, in the morning, the Muslims drew backward, refraining from battle until the heat became oppressive.⁴³ It is therefore plausible to assume that Saladin decided to position his men somewhat west of the main Palestinian watershed, which runs, in the area in question, from the heights of Nimrīn to Hill 311 (today the site of Kibbutz Lavi) and then to Lūbiya (see fig. 1). By holding this line Saladin would have blocked the road to Tiberias, covered the approaches to the springs of Hattin, and compelled the Franks to fight with the Muslims occupying the high ground. Accordingly, the Franks would have been able to advance some two kilometers east, and uphill, of Maskana, with Muslim archers presumably attempting to slow them down. The problem with this reconstruction is that, in order to reach the Horns of Hattin, the main body of the Frankish army must have crossed the watershed at some point, i.e., dislodged the Muslims from their purported position—and none of our sources indicates that the Franks scored such an initial success.⁴⁴

Naim (or Nam) refers to the village of Nimrīn, the sentence would not mean that the king marched one league more *to* Nimrīn; rather, that he marched to a point about one league *from* Nimrīn. A league—i.e. 2.2 kilometers—southeast of Nimrīn brings us to the plateau southwest of the Horns of Hattin: Herde, p. 32, note 172.

43 Ernoul, p. 168; *Eracles*, pp. 62, 64.

44 I would like to thank Mr. Shahar Shapira for having pointed out to me the possible importance of the watershed and the other 'dominating lines' in the area. In the future, we intend to apply his "dominating lines method" to the final stage of the battle.

I believe it is impossible to establish the exact sequence of events during the ensuing battle. Two Latin sources—the letter to Archumbald as well as the less reliable letter of the Genoese consuls—insist that the battle began with a Templar attack that failed disastrously because the other contingents did not support it. If accepted at face value, this would indicate that Frankish coordination was inadequate from the start. However, the author of the *Libellus* mentions a similar event much later in the battle. He relates that while the king and the bishops pleaded with the foot soldiers to descend from the mountain to which they had fled (i.e., the Horns of Hattin), the Templars, Hospitallers, and turcopoles came under unbearable pressure and appealed for the king's support. The king, however, seeing that the knights stood no chance against the Turkish arrows without the foot soldiers' help, ordered the pitching of tents.⁴⁵ The similarity between the accounts argues against the possibility that they refer to two distinct events; the difference between them renders questionable the assertion that the battle began with a Templar attack. As for the battle's end, few historians have been able to withstand the temptation to wind up their reconstruction with Ibn al-Athīr's dramatic description of two successive Frankish downhill charges repulsed by two successive Muslim counterattacks that drove the Franks back up to the Horns of Hattin, the second counterdrive culminating in the overthrow of King Guy's tent, which marked the Frankish rout. Ibn al-Athīr relies on the eyewitness account of Saladin's son al-Afdal. But a more mature eyewitness, 'Imād al-Dīn, relates that after their cavalry charges had been repulsed, the Franks dismounted and continued to fight on foot. When the Muslims captured the True Cross, the Franks knew that they were beaten; the king was captured somewhat later.⁴⁶

So much for the battle's beginning and end. Regarding the rest, there is considerable agreement as to the main events—the scrub fire started by the Muslims, the escape of Raymond of Tripoli, the ascent to the horns—but not as to their sequence or cause. Hence the striking divergences among modern attempts at reconstruction. I have chosen to call attention to the range of variance in descriptions of the episodes, and some of their implications, rather than to constrain them into one out of several plausible narratives.

Most sources relate that the Muslims started a heath fire, which added to the hardships of the thirsty and weary Franks. The *Libellus* states that the fire was started during the night of 3 July; one Old French version has it that the fire was started, on Saladin's orders, during the morning of 4 July; the letter of the Genoese consuls mentions the fire occurring after the failure of the Frankish attack; 'Imād al-Dīn places it after the escape of Raymond of Tripoli; and the

45 See the letter to Archumbald referred to in note 42 above, p. 2. The letter of the Genoese consuls has been published twice: *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS 49 (London, 1867), 2:11-13; and Karl Hampe, "Ein ungedruckter zeitgenössischer Bericht über die Schlacht bei Hattin," *Neues Archiv* 22 (1897), 278-280. *Libellus*, p. 225.

46 Ibn al-Athīr in RHC HOr. 1:685-686; 'Imād al-Dīn in Abū Shāma, RHC HOr. 4:270, 274. See also Saladin's letter, pp. 216-220 below.

letter of Archumbald relates that the Turks set fires around the Frankish army when it attempted to encamp near the horns.⁴⁷ It is of course possible that the Muslims set the scrub on fire on more than one occasion. It was certainly a simple and effective means of harassment. Johann Ludwig Burckhardt, the well-known traveler who passed near the horns on 23 June 1812, helps to impart its efficacy:

I was several times reprimanded by my guide, for not taking proper care of the lighted tobacco that fell from my pipe. The whole of the mountain is thickly covered with dry grass, which readily takes fire, and the slightest breath of air instantly spreads the conflagration far over the country, to the great risk of the peasants' harvest. The Arabs who inhabit the valley of the Jordan invariably put to death any person who is known to have been even the innocent cause of firing the grass.⁴⁸

Variance regarding the stage at which Raymond's escape took place is more limited but is compounded by the question of motive. The author of the *Libellus* claims that the men around Raymond decided to escape after they had been cut off from the main force under the king. The Old French versions on the other hand relate that Raymond went on the attack on the king's orders and that the Saracens opened ranks and let him through.⁴⁹ As for the ascent to the horns, the author of the *Libellus* accuses the foot soldiers of having made it early in the battle, on the approach of the Saracens. On the other hand, both the letter to Archumbald and an Old French version attribute to Raymond the advice that the entire army should encamp near or on the horns, while the Muslim sources report the ascent as taking place toward the end of the battle.⁵⁰

According to the letter to Archumbald, Raymond characterized the horns as "quasi castellum."⁵¹ Whether originating with Raymond or not, it is an apt characterization. Gal's archaeological survey has revealed that both horns are encircled by an Iron Age wall, and that the southern, somewhat higher horn is surrounded also by a Late Bronze wall.⁵² Impressive remains are visible to this day: In 1914, Dalman spoke of a "cyclopean wall" on the southern horn, of

47 *Libellus*, p. 223; *Cont. WT*, p. 52; *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, p. 11; Hampe, "Bericht," p. 279; 'Imād al-Dīn in Abū Shāma, RHC HOr. 4:269; Letter to Archumbald, p. 2.

48 J.L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land* (London, 1822), p. 331. Burckhardt also relates that, "mounted [on] a mare that was not likely to excite the cupidity of the Arabs," he made the way from Tiberias via the horns to Kafr Kanna in four and a quarter hours: *ibid.*, pp. 311, 336.

49 *Libellus*, pp. 225-226; *Eracles*, p. 64; *Cont. WT*, p. 53; Ernoul, p. 69.

50 *Libellus*, pp. 224-225; Letter to Archumbald, p. 2; *Eracles*, p. 63; 'Imād al-Dīn, *Conquête*, ed. Landberg, p. 24, trans. Massé, p. 26; Ibn al-Āthīr, in RHC HOr. 1:685. See also Saladin's letter, below.

51 Letter to Archumbald, p. 2. See also the statement attributed to Raymond by Robert d'Auxerre and the account discovered by Jean Richard: "Preoccupanda suggerit esse montana, ut inde securius pugnent et hostes validius impetant." Robert d'Auxerre, *Chronicon*, p. 249; Richard, "Account," p. 175.

52 Z. Gal, "Tel Rekhes and Tel Qarney Hittin," *Eretz-Israel* 15 (1981), 215, 218 (in Hebrew). See also his article in the present volume.

which a considerable part was 2.30 meters wide and 2 meters high,⁵³ and it is plausible to assume that in 1187 the remains were still more imposing. Thus, under the difficult circumstances of the final battle, the ascent to the horns made considerable military sense: the ancient walls provided some protection from Muslim arrows and allowed the Frankish archers to shoot at their enemies as if from the ramparts of a castle. It is likely that the Frankish knights regrouped in the large crater between the horns. The two downhill cavalry charges were most probably launched westward, through the only convenient exit from the crater.

Ibn al-*Athīr*'s account leaves no doubt that both cavalry charges were aimed at the point where Saladin himself was.⁵⁴ Back in 1952, Jean Richard drew attention to the similarity between these charges and the stratagem that a knight named John suggested to King Guy at the beginning of the battle. According to an account preserved in *Vat. Reg. lat. 598* and in the chronicle of Robert d'Auxerre, this knight—who had frequently fought in Muslim armies and was well versed in their mode of warfare—advised the king to attack with all his strength the compact body of Muslims around Saladin's banner, because once it was routed, the other contingents could be easily overcome. The similarity between this advice and the charges described by Ibn al-*Athīr* is indeed striking. Richard wrote that the plan proposed by the knight John almost gave victory to the Franks.⁵⁵ Perhaps; in fact, Ibn al-*Athīr* writes that the Frankish charges well-nigh succeeded in removing the Muslims from their positions.⁵⁶ At any rate, there is ample grounds for believing that arduous fighting continued long after Raymond's escape. The Frankish sources giving a different impression reflect accounts by participants who fled with Raymond or with Balian of Ibelin; the Muslim sources, which stress that the battle raged on until Saladin's men finally succeeded in ascending the horns, should be preferred.

Al-Muqaddasī saw fit to spell out the identity of the captors of King Guy and Renaud de Châtillon: the first, he relates, was captured by Dirbās the Kurd, the second by a servant (*ghulām*) of the amīr Ibrāhīm al-Mihrānī. He does not mention the seizure of the True Cross at all. 'Imād al-Dīn, who does not give the captors' names, exhibits a better understanding of his enemies' sensibilities when he dwells at length on the importance of the Cross for Frankish morale and concludes that its capture weighed with the Franks more than that of the king.

About ten years earlier, on 25 November 1177, the Franks had decisively routed Saladin in the Battle of Montgisard; it was the day of Saint Catherine, and to commemorate their victory, the Franks had established the church of Sainte Katerine de Mongisart.⁵⁷ Now, after his own great victory, it was Saladin's turn

53 Dalman, "Jahresbericht" (note 35 above), p. 42.

54 RHC HOr. 1:685-686.

55 Richard, "Account," pp. 169-171, 175; Robert d'Auxerre, *Chronicon*, p. 249.

56 Ibn al-*Athīr*, RHC HOr. 1:684.

57 WT 21, 22, p. 922; *Les pelerinaiges por aler en Iherusalem*, in *Itinéraires à Jérusalem et descriptions de la Terre Sainte rédigés en français aux XI^e, XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, ed. H.

to memorialize. The same Old French version which relates that upon the Christian defeat Saladin "rendi graces a Nostre Seignor [sic!] del honor que il li avoit fait,"⁵⁸ tells also that he ordered the building of a *mahomerie* on the summit of the mountain on which King Guy had been captured.⁵⁹ The geographer al-Dimashqī (d. 1327) preserved the name of the structure. Having mentioned that the Franks were defeated at the Horns of Hattin, he adds that Saladin built there a dome "which is called *qubbat al-nasr*" (the Dome of Victory).⁶⁰ It did not remain intact for long. The German pilgrim Thietmar, who arrived in Acre in 1217, tells with glee that the temple Saladin had erected "to his gods" after the victory, is now desolate.⁶¹ The very nature of the edifice came to be forgotten: Quaresmius, in the early seventeenth century, saw on the summit ruins believed to be those of a church.⁶² The remains were correctly identified by Dalman in 1914,⁶³ and Gal excavated them in 1976 and 1981. But the few layers of stone, cleared of thistle a few days before the eight-hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Hattin, are barely distinguishable by the untrained eye. Almost like the victory it once commemorated, the dome can be conjured up only by a feat of imagination.

Michelant and G. Raynaud (Geneva, 1882), p. 93; *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin*, c. 267, in RHC Lois 1:417. The causal link between victory and church was tentatively suggested by Charles Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, 1 (Paris, 1888), pp. 365-366. I believe that the link is obvious.

58 *Eracles*, p. 66, MS C, *ibid.*, p. 67; see also Ernoul, p. 172.

59 *Eracles*, p. 63.

60 *Cosmographie de Chams-ed-Din Abou Abdallah Mohammed ed-Dimichqui*, ed. A.F. Mehren (St. Petersburg, 1866), p. 212; English translation in Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems: A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from A.D. 650 to 1500* (London, 1890), p. 451.

61 "Hinc transivi per campum, ubi exercitus Christianorum victus fuit et crux sancta ab inimicis crucis capta. Ubi in medio campi in eminencia quadam Saladinus pro habita victoria diis suis templum edificavit, quod usque ad hodiernum diem ibi est, sine honore tamen et desolatum; nec mirum, quia non est solidatum supra firmam petram, qui est Christus Jhesus..." *Magistri Thietmari peregrinatio*, ed. J.C.M. Laurent (Hamburg, 1857), pp. 4-5.

62 "Sunt in eius summittate aedificationum ruinae: et creduntur esse alicuius Ecclesiae ad honorem Doctoris Christi aedificatae." Quaresmius, *Elucidatio* (note 34 above), p. 856a.

63 Dalman, "Jahresbericht" (note 25 above), p. 42, referring to al-Dimashqī and Thietmar.

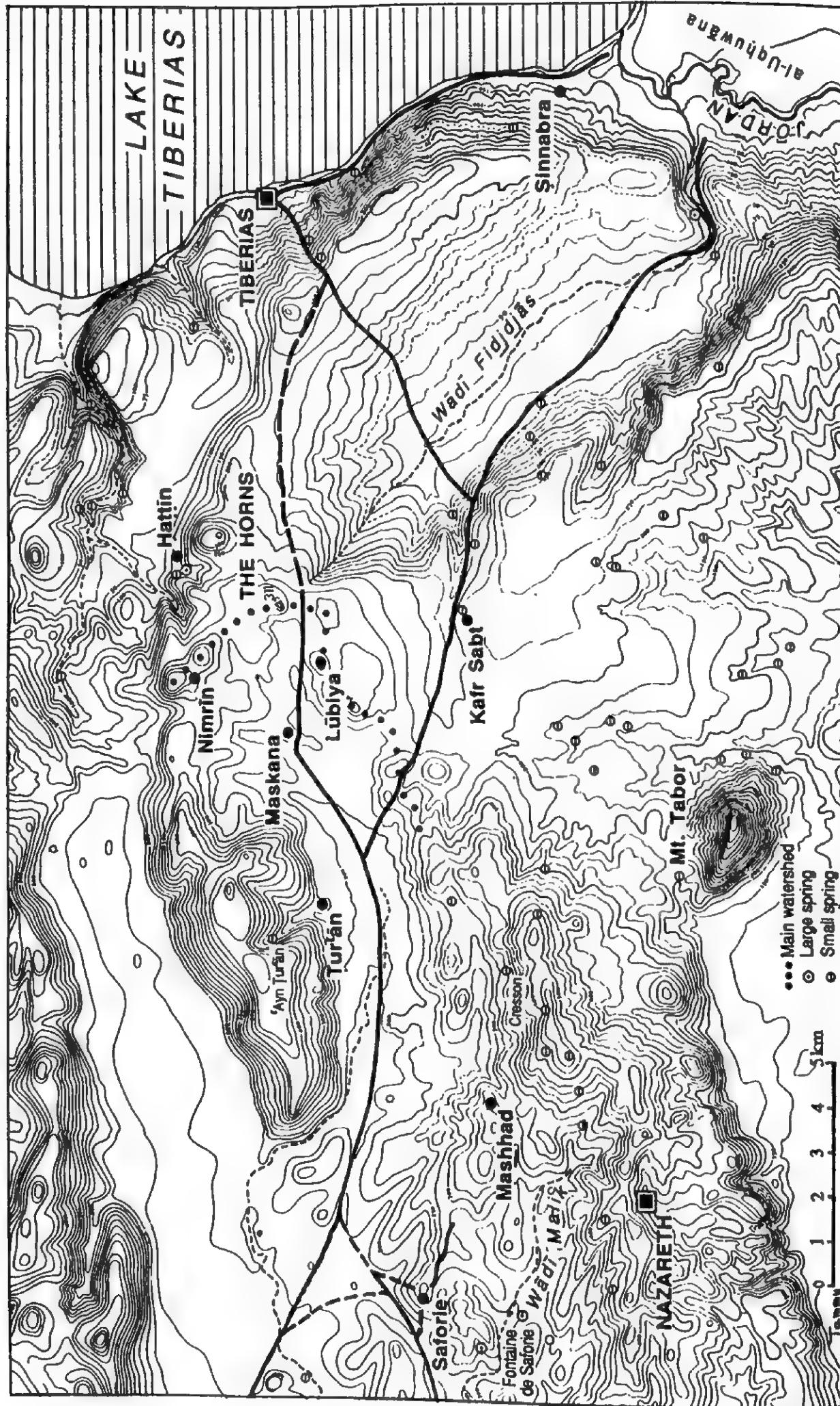


Fig. 1. Roads and springs in eastern Lower Galilee, 1187 (use of contours base by permission of Survey of Israel)

X

Ein Hilferuf aus Jerusalem vom September 1187

Die Münchner Handschrift Clm 28195 enthält die Abschrift eines Briefes des Patriarchen Eraklius von Jerusalem an Papst Urban III., abgefaßt wenige Tage vor der Abriegelung Jerusalems durch Saladin. Diesem einzigen bisher aus Jerusalem bekannt gewordenen Dokument aus der kritischen Zeit zwischen der Schlacht von Hattin am 4. Juli 1187 und der Kapitulation von Jerusalem am 2. Oktober 1187 folgt eine Liste der von den Muslimen eingenommenen Städte und Burgen, in der die Namen von Festungen aus Jerusalems nächster Umgebung überwiegen.

Brief und Liste blieben bisher von der Forschung unbeachtet, da sie sich in einer Handschrift des frühen 13. Jahrhunderts befinden, die erst im Jahre 1909, also nach dem Abschluß der großen Urkundensammlungen der Kreuzfahrerzeit, in die Münchner Staatsbibliothek kam¹. Ursprünglich gehörte die Handschrift dem Zisterzienserkloster Kaisheim, dessen Annalen einen detaillierten Bericht über den Sieg der Mongolen über die Mamluken in der Schlacht von Ḥimṣ (1299) bringen². Die Handschrift, die zum größten Teil Werke Bernhards von Clairvaux enthält³, überliefert außer dem

¹⁾ Georg Leidinger, Mitteilungen der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek (Handschriftenabteilung), Münchner Jb. der bildenden Kunst, 1910, 2. Halbband, S. 284. – Der Vf. möchte der Alexander-von-Humboldt-Stiftung für ein Forschungsstipendium danken, das ihm unter anderem ermöglichte, diese Hs. persönlich einzusehen. Der Aufsatz wurde am Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton geschrieben.

²⁾ Georg Leidinger, Annales Caesarienses (Kaisheimer Jahrbücher), SB München 1910, 7, S. 34–36; zuletzt benutzt von Sylvia Schein, Gesta Dei per Mongolos 1300. The Genesis of a Non-Event, English Historical Review 94 (1979) S. 814.

³⁾ J. Leclercq - H. Rochais, Sancti Bernardi opera 7 (1974) S. XII setzen die Hs. (Pgt., 119 Bll. [= 14 Quaternionen, 2 Binionen, mit Resten alter Lagenzählung], Blattspiegel 33×23 cm) zeitlich um die Wende vom 12. zum 13. Jh. an. Sie enthält an Werken Bernhards De diligendo deo (fol. 1^r–10^{ra}; S. Bernardi opera 3, 109ff.), De praecepto et dispensatione (fol. 10^{ra}–21^{vb}; Opera 3, 241ff.), De gradibus

Erakliusbrief noch Abschriften dreier weiterer Schreiben, die die Kreuzzüge betreffen. Das früheste ist der weitverbreitete Bericht, den Daimbert von Pisa, Gottfried von Bouillon und Raimund von Saint-Gilles im September 1099 aus Laodicea sandten und der zuletzt von Heinrich Hagenmeyer anhand von 17 Handschriften in seiner maßgebenden Sammlung der Kreuzzugsbriefe der Jahre 1088–1100 herausgegeben wurde; die Version unserer Handschrift enthält keine bedeutenden Abweichungen, fügt sich aber Hagenmeyers Klassifikation nicht ein⁴. Das zweite Schreiben, im Frühling 1100 von Daimbert an die Gläubigen Deutschlands gesandt, wurde im Jahre 1884 von Paul Riant aufgrund einer teilweise beschädigten Würzburger Handschrift veröffentlicht; Riants Konjekturen wurden mit einer Ausnahme von Hagenmeyer übernommen⁵. Diese Konjekturen trafen aber nicht ganz ins Schwarze, wie eine Gegenüberstellung mit unserer Handschrift, die den vollen Text des Briefes wiedergibt, beweist:

Riant – Hagenmeyer

... quia sine vestro et aliorum bonorum virorum auxilio [stipendia quae solvere promisimus] prout ex-

Clm 28195, fol. 115^{rb}:

... quia sine vestri et aliorum bonorum virorum auxilio *tantos sumptus et munera* prout expedit ministrare

humilitatis (fol. 21^{vb}–33^{vb}; Opera 3, 1ff.), Ad milites templi de laude novae militiae (fol. 33^{vb}–40^{vb}; Opera 3, 205ff.), Apologia ad Guillelmum abbatem (fol. 40^{rb}–47^{va}; Opera 3, 61ff.), schließlich das Briefcorpus (fol. 50^{rb}–114^r; Opera 7–8). An einer Nahtstelle, zwischen der Apologia ad Guillelmum und dem Briefcorpus, sind der Eraklius-Brief und die noch zu besprechende Kreuzzugsenzyklika Clemens' III. eingestreut (fol. 48^{va}–49^{ra} bzw. 49^{ra}–50^{rb}), beiden Schriftstücken vorausgehend die Epistola ad Mathildam abbatissam des Petrus Cellensis (Migne PL 202, 443). Dies alles ist im großen ganzen von ein und derselben Hand geschrieben. Nur fol. 57^{ra}–61^{ra} sowie am Schluß der Hs. fol. 108^v–119^r sind zwei weitere Schreiber tätig gewesen, deren einer an das Corpus der Bernhard-Briefe die – gleichfalls noch zu besprechenden – Schreiben Daimberts von Pisa u. a. von 1099 bzw. 1100 sowie die Eustachius-Vita BHL 2760 anfügte (eine darauf noch folgende *Oratio in mane dicenda* auf fol. 119^{rb} ist bereits Nachtrag des 14. Jh.).

⁴⁾ Clm 28195, fol. 114^{ra}–115^{ra}; Heinrich H a g e n m e y e r, Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100. Eine Quellensammlung zur Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges (1901) S. 167–174. Hagenmeyer meinte, daß die erste Rezension des Briefes siebzehn, die zweite achtzehn Absätze enthielte. Unsere Version, die 18 Absätze enthält, sollte also dem Umfang nach zur zweiten Rezension zu zählen sein, aber die Absätze 1–17 sind dem Wortlaut nach am ähnlichsten den Hss. der ersten Rezension, und auch der 18. Absatz weicht von den Hss. der zweiten Rezension mehrmals ab.

⁵⁾ Clm 28195, fol. 115^{ra}–b; Une lettre historique de la première croisade, communiquée par M. R i a n t, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1884, 4. sér. 12 (1885) S. 213–214; H a g e n m e y e r, Kreuzzugsbriefe, S. 176–177 mit Berichtigung auf S. 487.

Riant – Hagenmeyer

pedit ministrare et explere non possumus. quod autem [ad nos manda-re] vobis placuerit, per fideles et vobis probatos viros cum dinumeratione facta in authenti]co scripto [nobis] mittite.

Das dritte Schreiben ist eine bisher unbekannte, am 2. Januar 1188 durch Papst Clemens III. zu Pisa erfolgte Erneuerung des Kreuzzugsaufrufs *Audita tremendi* Gregors VIII.⁶ Die in der Vergangenheit umstrittene Frage, ob Clemens III. eine Kreuzzugsenzyklika erließ⁷, kann nun also vorbehaltlos bejaht werden.

Der Erakliusbrief erscheint in der Handschrift unmittelbar vor Clemens' Enzyklika⁸ und man sollte die Möglichkeit nicht ausschließen, daß der Brief als mahnendes Beispiel für die verzweifelte Lage des lateinischen Ostens zusammen mit dem Kreuzzugsaufruf zirkulierte, obwohl der Fall Jerusalems, im Briefe noch bevorstehend, schon einige Wochen vor der Promulgation des Aufrufs an der Kurie bekannt war⁹. Der Brief, in dem Askalon unter den von Saladin eroberten Städten erwähnt wird und dem

⁶) Clm 28195, fol. 49^{ra} – 50^{rb}: Inc. *Clemens episcopus servus servorum Dei universis Christi fidelibus, ad quos littore iste pervenerint, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Audita tremendi severitate iudicii ... Expl.: gloriam videantur. Data Pisis IIII. non. Jan. indictione sexta.* Für andere Ausfertigungen siehe Johannes G e y e r, Papst Clemens III. (1187 – 1191) (Jenaer Historische Arbeiten 7, 1914) S. 42 – 44. Gregors berühmter Aufruf (JL 16019) wurde am 29. Oktober 1187 erlassen.

⁷) Adolf G o t t l i e b, Kreuzablaß und Almosenablaß. Eine Studie über die Frühzeit des Ablaßwesens (1906) S. 131 – 132; Nicolaus P a u l u s, Geschichte des Ablas-ses im Mittelalter vom Ursprunge bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts 1 (1922) S. 205; Ursula S c h w e r i n, Die Aufrufe der Päpste zur Befreiung des Heiligen Landes, von den Anfängen bis zum Ausgang Innozenz IV. (1937) S. 139 – 141. Die Erklärung des Papstes, daß er die Einzelheiten des Zusammenbruches des Königreichs Jerusalem nicht beschreiben wolle, *donec ad nos aliquis de partibus illis accedat, qui plenius ordinis veritatem exponat*, die sich in der Version der Gregor-Enzyklika in der Chronik des sog. Ansbert findet, fehlt in der Clemens-Enzyklika geradeso wie in der Version der Gregor-Enzyklika bei Roger von Howden. Dadurch wird die Annahme Ursula S c h w e r i n s (Aufrufe, S. 138) unterstützt, daß die für England bestimmte Ausfertigung der Gregor-Enzyklika zu einem späteren Datum abgefaßt worden sei.

⁸) Clm 28195, fol. 48^{va} – 49^{ra}; siehe Anhang.

⁹) Cartellieri meinte, daß Gregor VIII. noch vor Ende November von der Einnahme Jerusalems erfuhr: Alexander C a r t e l l i e r i, Philipp II. August, König von Frankreich 2 (1906) S. 272 – 273.

Clm 28195, fol. 115^{rb}:

et explere non possumus. quod autem *huc Deo mittere vobis placuerit*, per fideles et vobis probatos viros cum dinumerata in sigillato scripto *pecunia mittite.*

zufolge Saladin selbst täglich unter den Mauern Jerusalems erwartet wurde, muß zwischen dem 4. September 1187, an dem Askalon kapitulierte, und dem 20. desselben Monats, an dem die Belagerung Jerusalems durch Saladin begann, geschrieben worden sein. (Da auch Bethlehem, das nach Askalon fiel¹⁰, als schon erobert aufgeführt wird, sollte man eher ein dem späteren Termin nahes Datum annehmen.)

Um jene Zeit war das Land, mit Ausnahme von Tyrus und wenigen Burgen des Binnenlandes, in Saladins Händen, aber für einen Boten konnte es kaum allzu schwierig gewesen sein, sich durch das erst vor kurzem eroberte Gebiet bis an die syrische Küste durchzuschlagen, da noch einige Monate später die Siege, die die Besatzung des tief im Binnenlande liegenden Hospitalerkastells Belvoir über zwei Sarazenenkarawanen errang, an die Küste berichtet werden konnten¹¹. Vielleicht aber gelangte der Brief an die Küste mit der Gemahlin Bilians von Ibelin, der Saladin erlaubte, Jerusalem zu verlassen, und die mit ihren Kindern unter dem Geleit muslimischer Reiter nach Tripolis gebracht wurde¹². Möglicherweise wurde der Brief dann nach Italien durch den Bischof von Valania weitergeleitet, der mit einem ähnlichen, Ende September verfaßten Briefe des Patriarchen Aimerich von Antiochia bis zu Heinrich II. von England gelangte; da Heinrich Anfang 1188 *A. et E., Antiochiae et Jerusalem patriarchis* antwortete¹³, kann man annehmen, daß Eraklius im September 1187 nicht nur an Papst Urban, sondern

¹⁰) *De expugnatione Terrae Sanctae libellus* (künftig: *Libellus*), ed. Joseph Stevenson, Rolls Series 66 (1875) S. 239. Das Datum von Bethlehems Eroberung ist nicht angegeben.

¹¹) Die Siege werden erwähnt im Bericht des Templerpräzeptors Terricus an Heinrich II. von England: *Gesta regis Henrici secundi* (künftig: *Gesta*), ed. William Stubbs, Rolls Series 49/2 (1867) S. 41; *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene* (künftig: *Howden*), ed. William Stubbs, Rolls Series 51/2 (1869) S. 346; Die lateinische Fortsetzung Wilhelms von Tyrus (künftig: *Fortsetzung*), ed. Marianne Salloch (1934) S. 87. Über Howden als den Autor der *Gesta* siehe Doris M. Stenton, *Roger of Howden and Benedict*, English Historical Review 68 (1953) S. 574–582.

¹²) *Estoire de Eracles, Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Occidentaux* 2 (1859) S. 81; *La Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. Louis de Mas Latrie (1871) S. 186f. Balian wandte sich an Saladin um sicheres Geleit, als Saladin noch vor Askalon stand; möglicherweise gewährte Saladin ihm dieses und sandte seine Reiter nach Jerusalem erst nach dem Fall Askalons.

¹³) Aimerichs Brief und Heinrichs Antwort werden von Roger von Howden überliefert: *Gesta* 2, S. 36–39; *Howden* 2, S. 340–343; *Fortsetzung*, S. 88–89, 93–94. Heinrich richtet seinen Brief auch an den Fürsten von Antiochia; aber bei dem von Röhricht und Chroust herausgegebenen Hilferuf des Fürsten handelt es sich offenbar um eine Stilübung: Reinhold Röhricht, Amalrich I., König von

auch an den König von England, vielleicht auch an andere Herrscher, appelliert hatte.

In seinem Briefe an den Papst stellt Eraklius das Unglück, das das Heilige Land befiel, als eine unerklärliche Heimsuchung dar; der Topos, daß die Sünden des Volkes die Katastrophe hervorriefen, der schon im Bericht des Großpräzeptors des Tempels, Terricus¹⁴, und im Briefe des Patriarchen von Antiochia begegnet und in späteren Schriften regelmäßig vorkommt, wird hier in keiner Weise zur Deutung des Geschehens verwendet. Eraklius berichtet, daß Gott den Türken (die vielleicht nicht nur ein Schreibfehler, sondern eine klassizistische Tendenz zu *Traci* werden ließ) erlaubte, das heilige Kreuz in ihre Gewalt zu bringen, den König und das Heer zu schlagen. Es ist bezeichnend für Eraklius' Anschauungsweise, daß er zuerst den Fall des Kreuzes erwähnt, dann auf das Los seiner Träger, der Bischöfe von Lydda und Akkon, eingeht, und erst danach ganz kurz der Kämpfer gedankt. Dann verzeichnet er die Städte und Burgen, die Saladin einnahm, und erwähnt unter ihnen auch Ibelin, Toron des Chevaliers und Mirabel, kleine Burgen Südwestpalästinas, die der Patriarch von Antiochia, weit von dieser Gegend entfernt, in seinem Schreiben übergehen sollte. Jerusalem und Tyrus befinden sich noch in christlichen Händen, aber Jerusalem ist schon eingeschlossen, seine Bewohner können die Stadt nicht mehr verlassen, Saladins Ankunft wird täglich erwartet und ohne sofortige Hilfe aus dem Westen könnten Jerusalem und Tyrus kaum noch ein halbes Jahr durchhalten. Da Eraklius hinzufügt, daß gleich nach der Schlacht von Hattin Jerusalem vollkommen wehrlos war, scheint er zu glauben, daß die Lage damals noch aussichtsloser gewesen war als zur Zeit der Abfassung des Briefes, in der er auf seine und Bilians von Ibelin in der Zwischenzeit erfolgten Bemühungen zurückblicken konnte, die Stadt auf die Belagerung vorzubereiten. Nun aber nimmt Eraklius unter Tränen seine Zuflucht zu den Füßen des Papstes, um Hilfe flehend für Volk und Stadt – eine Formulierung, die die schwunglosen Worte des Patriarchen von Antiochia weit übertrifft und an Eraklius' Kniefall vor Balduin IV. Anfang 1184 zu Akkon

Jerusalem (1162–1174), MIÖG 12 (1891), S. 484–485; Anton Chroust, Tageno, Ansbert und die Historia Peregrinorum (1892) S. 202–203. Ein von Röhricht edierter Hilferuf eines Patriarchen an einen Kaiser (Reinhold Röhricht, Quellenbeiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge [1875], S. 32; vgl. Bruno Stehle, Über ein Hildesheimer Formelbuch, vornehmlich ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Erzbischofs Philipp I. von Köln, 1167–1191 [1878] S. 20), ist zweifellos eine Stilübung, die sich durch ihre Inhaltsleere von unserem Erakliusbrief wie auch von Aimerichs Brief an Heinrich II. unterscheidet.

¹⁴⁾ Gesta 2, S. 13; Howden 2, S. 324; Fortsetzung, S. 86.

und an seinen tränenreichen Fußfall vor Heinrich II. von England Anfang 1185 erinnert¹⁵.

Dem Briefe, der etwas abrupt mit der Erklärung endet, daß alle Erzbistümer und Bistümer des Patriarchats Jerusalem mit der Ausnahme von Tyrus und Petra eingenommen worden seien, folgt eine Liste von 28 Ortschaften, die die Türken – hier *Thurci* geschrieben – eroberten. Die Liste ist kürzer als die, die in den Werken 'Imād ad-Dīn, des Sekretärs Saladins, oder Rogers von Howden erscheinen¹⁶, zeichnet sich aber aus durch Nennung zahlreicher Ortschaften aus der Umgebung Jerusalems, eingeschlossen Ortschaften, die anderswo selten erwähnt werden. Es ist anzunehmen, daß die Liste in Jerusalem abgefaßt worden ist, als sich dort die Flüchtlinge aus der Gegend um Jaffa, aus Nablus und wahrscheinlich auch aus dem Süden des Landes konzentrierten¹⁷.

Vier der aufgezählten Ortschaften bedürfen einer eingehenden Erklärung:

1. *Tharenta*.

In der von Roger von Howden überlieferten Liste wird Tarenta als ein *castellum* erwähnt. Röhricht identifiziert diese Burg mit dem arabischen Rentiyya (heute Nöfekh, etwa 17 km östlich von Tel Aviv); später fügte er hinzu, daß das *casale* Taranta, von dem im Jahre 1199 erwähnt wird, daß es in der Gegend von Caesarea liege, mit Rogers von Howden Tarenta identisch sei¹⁸. Beyer bezweifelt beide Behauptungen, da Rogers geographisch geordnete Liste Tarenta zwischen Castellum Arnaldi und Blanchegarde, also weit südlicher als Caesarea aufführt, und da das caesariensische

¹⁵) Kniefall zu Akkon: Wilhelm von Tyrus, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, in: *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Occidentaux* 1 (1844) S. 1133; Fußfall in England: *Gesta* 1, S. 335; Howden 2, S. 299; Giraldus Cambrensis, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. A. B. Scott und F. X. Martin (1978) S. 200.

¹⁶) 'Imād ad-Dīn al-Kātib al-Isfahānī, *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine*, ed. Carlo de Landberg (1888) S. 111; dt. Übersetzung und Kommentar: Jörg Kraemer, *Der Sturz des Königreichs Jerusalem (583/1187) in der Darstellung des 'Imād ad-Dīn al-Isfahānī* (1952) S. 20, 65–71; franz. Übersetzung: Henri Massé (1972) S. 99. *Gesta* 2, S. 22–24; Howden 2, S. 321.

¹⁷) Über die Flucht der Franken aus der Gegend um Jaffa und aus Nablus nach Jerusalem berichtet der anonyme Autor des *Libellus* (wie Anm. 10), S. 229, 233. Die Besatzung von Mirabel wurde nach ihrer Kapitulation nach Jerusalem gebracht: *Libellus*, S. 229–230.

¹⁸) Reinhold Röhricht, *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Geographie und Topographie Syriens*, Zs. des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 10 (1887) S. 224, Anm. 13; ders., *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani (MXCVII–MCCXCI). Additamentum* (1904) Nr. 765 a, Anm. 1. Für Nöfekh siehe *Atlas of Israel* (1970) Sheet I, 11, Koordinaten 143/162. Die Überreste der Kreuzfahrerzeit, die sich im Zentrum von Nöfekh befinden, werden in einem bevorstehenden Aufsatz meines Freundes Meron Benvenisti beschrieben.

Taranta weit nördlicher als Rentiyya zu suchen sei¹⁹. In unserer Liste aber befindet sich Tharenta zwischen Mirabel und Béthenopolis (= Bethnoble), was der Lage Rentiyyas genau entspricht. Andererseits aber ist einzuwenden, daß in einer Urkunde Balduins von Ibelin, des Herren von Mirabel, aus dem Jahre 1166, *Rentia* – augenscheinlich mit Rentiyya identisch – erwähnt wird²⁰. Vielleicht wurde *Rentia* zwischen 1166 und 1187 – etwa nach der 1177 unweit davon ausgefochtenen Schlacht von Montgisard – ausgebaut und umbenannt. Vielleicht aber war Tharenta der Name einer der unidentifizierten Kreuzfahrerfestungen, deren Überreste sich bei Deir Abū Mash'āl und al-Burdi – also zwischen Mirabel und Bethnoble – befinden.

2. *Fiyr*.

*

Diese Festung erscheint in keiner der westlichen Quellen über Saladins Eroberungen, ist auch nicht auf der maßgebenden modernen Karte des lateinischen Königreichs eingetragen. In seiner gereimten Beschreibung des Dritten Kreuzzuges erwähnt Ambroise aber, daß Saladin nach der Schlacht von Arsūr (7. September 1191) eine Reihe von südpalästinensischen Burgen zu zerstören befahl: eine von diesen hieß *Le Fier*²¹. Später berichtet Ambroise, daß Richard Löwenherz die Türken aus dem *chastel Le Fier* vertrieb. (In der lateinischen Übersetzung wird der Ort *Castrum Ficuum* genannt²².) Im ausführlichen Bericht 'Imād ad-Dīn wird der Name dieser am 29. Mai 1192 angegriffenen Burg (*qal'a*) als *Madjdal al-Habāb* oder, einer Variante folgend, als *Madjdal ad-Djināb* angegeben²³. *Madjdal al-Habāb* erscheint indessen in 'Imād ad-Dīns Liste der 1187 eroberten Festungen nach *Madjdal Yābā* (= Mirabel) und vor *ad-Darūm* (Deir al-Balah) und *Gaza*²⁴. Der hervorragende Kenner der historischen Geographie Palästinas, Clermont-Ganneau, schlug vor, *Le Fier* = *Madjdal al-Habāb* (beziehungsweise *Madjdal ad-Djināb*) etwa 20 km nordnordöstlich vom modernen Beer Sheva, bei *Kh. Madjādil*, *Tell Madjādil* oder *Kh. Mudjīdilāt* zu suchen; eine Alternative wäre das etwa noch 15 km nordnordöstlicher liegende *Kh. al-Medjdele*²⁵. Die Verfasser des „Survey of Western Palestine“ fanden auf *Kh. Mad-*

¹⁹) Gustav Beyer, Das Gebiet der Kreuzfahrerherrschaft Caesarea in Palästina, siedlungs- und territorialgeschichtlich untersucht, Zs. des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 59 (1936) S. 46 und Anm. 7.

²⁰) J. Delaville Le Roulx, Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem (1100–1310) 1 (1894) Nr. 354, S. 245.

²¹) Ambroise, L'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte. Histoire en vers de la troisième croisade, ed. Gaston Paris (1897) Zeile 6849.

²²) Ambroise, Zeilen 9395–9435; Itinerarium regis Ricardi, ed. William Stubbs, Rolls Series 38/1 (1864) S. 357–358. Siehe auch Gustav Beyer, Civitas Ficuum, Zs. des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 69 (1953) S. 79, Anm. 14.

²³) 'Imād ad-Dīn, Conquête (wie Anm. 16), S. 423 mit Anm. 7; franz. Übersetzung, S. 379. Der Befund wird kompliziert durch das Zitat 'Imād ad-Dīns bei Abū Shāma, K. ar-rāwdatayn, in: Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Orientaux 5 (1906) S. 54.

²⁴) Siehe oben Anm. 16. Kraemer (Sturz, S. 68) schlägt vor, *Madjdal al-Habāb* auf *Madjdal Hiyāb*, in Anlehnung an *Yākūt*, zu emendieren, scheint aber Clermont-Ganneaus Ausführungen nicht zu kennen.

²⁵) Charles Clermont-Ganneau, Recueil d'archéologie orientale 1 (1888) S. 378–383. Ohne seine Erwägungen zu erklären, entschied sich Deschamps für *Tell*

jādil, dem heutigen Horbat Migdalit, „eine große Ruine, Höhlen und Zisternen“ und nahmen an, daß es sich um eine wichtige Stätte handele²⁶; es wäre lohnenswert, dort nach Kreuzfahrerruinen zu suchen.

3. *Castrum sancti Helie.*

Die altfranzösische palästinensische Chronik, deren ursprüngliche, nicht mehr vorhandene Fassung von Ernoul, einem Gefolgsmann des Hauses Ibelin, stammt, erwähnt, daß im Jahre 1185 Bonifaz (richtig: Wilhelm III.) von Montferrat, der Großvater König Balduins V., ein *chastel* hielt, das sich 7 Meilen von Jerusalem und 3 Meilen vom Jordan entfernt befindet; die Einheimischen würden den Ort *Saint Elye* nennen, aber in alten Zeiten habe er *Effra* geheißen²⁷. Es handelt sich also um eine Burg, die auf der Stätte des biblischen 'Ofra, etwa 22 km nordnordöstlich von Jerusalem, errichtet wurde²⁸. In 'Imād ad-Dīns Liste der eroberten Festungen heißt die Burg 'Afrā²⁹. Heute heißt der Ort at-Tayyiba, ein weiterer Beweis dafür, daß der arabische Ortsnamenschatz Palästinas im 12. Jahrhundert mehr biblische Namen kannte als heutzutage³⁰.

4. *Castrum Egidii.*

Sanctus Egydius erscheint auch in der kurzen Liste von Saladins Eroberungen, die in der fragwürdigen *Epistola episcopi Wilhelmi De excidio terre Jehrosolimitane* vorkommt³¹. Es handelt sich zweifellos um das von 'Imād ad-Dīn erwähnte Sindjil, das noch heute denselben Namen trägt, sich etwa 28 km nördlich von Jerusalem auf der Hauptstraße nach Nablus befindet³² – und eines der wenigen Überbleibsel der Kreuzfahrerzeit auf der heutigen Landkarte darstellt.

Madjadil: Paul Deschamps, *Les châteaux des Croisés en Terre-Sainte*, 1: Le Crac des Chevaliers (1934) S. 19, 314; 2: *La défense du royaume de Jérusalem. Étude historique, géographique et monumentale* (1939) S. 21.

²⁶) Claude R. Conder und Horatio H. Kitchener, *The Survey of Western Palestine 3: Judaea* (1883) S. 284. Für Horbat Migdalit siehe *Atlas of Israel* (1970) Sheet I, 11, Koordinaten 135/092.

²⁷) *Estoire de Eracles* (wie Anm. 12), S. 14, mit den Varianten *Effraon* und *Effrain*.

²⁸) Joshua Prawer und Meron Benvenisti, *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, in: *Atlas of Israel*, Sheet IX, 10 (künftig: Prawer-Benvenisti), wo auf den Koordinaten 178/151 sowohl Effraon (at-Tayyiba) als auch St. Elye (al-Khadar) eingezeichnet sind.

²⁹) Siehe oben Anm. 16.

³⁰) Für andere Beispiele, wie auch für eine Beschreibung der Überreste der Kreuzfahrerzeit in at-Tayyiba, siehe den in Anm. 18 erwähnten Aufsatz von Benvenisti. Abel nahm an, daß 'Afrā und ähnliche Orte unter den Ayyubiden auf at-Tayyiba umbenannt worden sind: Félix-M. Abel, 'Afrabalā-Forbelet et l'"Ophra de Gédéon, *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 17 (1937) S. 38–39.

³¹) Die *Epistola* wurde herausgegeben von Reinhold Röhrich, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* 1 (1874) S. 191.

³²) Prawer-Benvenisti, Koordinaten 175/160 (St. Gilles); siehe auch Kraemer, Sturz, S. 69.

Anhang

Patriarch Eraclius berichtet Papst Urban III. über die verzweifelte Lage Jerusalem und ersucht um sofortige Hilfe. *

Jerusalem, im September 1187

Überlieferung: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 28195, fol. 48^{va} – 49^{ra}.

INCIPIT EPISTOLA AB ERACLIO IEROSOLIMORUM PATRIARCHA
MISSA AD PAPAM URBANUM.

Sanctissimo domino et patri suo Urbano, sacrosancte Romane ecclesie summo pontifici et universali pape, Eraclius, Dei permissione sancte resurrectionis Christi ecclesie miserabilis patriarcha¹, salutem et debite subiectio-
nis devotissimum famulatum.

Meroris et doloris nostri magnitudinem, pater reverende, pietatis vestre auribus exponere vix sufficimus, qui gentis nostre contricionem et luctuosam ac lamentabilem sancte Ierosolimitane ecclesie desolationem et sanctum canibus dari² in diebus nostris videre reservati sumus. Vere, pater sancte, ire Domini transierunt in nos, terrores eius nos conturbaverunt³, cuius etiam indignatio ebabit spiritum meum⁴, dum dolorem dolori nostro superaddidit⁵. Qui sacrosanctam et vivificam crucem, unicum et peculiare salutis nostre subsidium, a Tracis⁶ capi permisit, venerabilibus fratribus nostris, Littensi et Acconensi episcopis⁷, qui in ministerio eius fuerant, altero capto altero in

¹⁾ so Hs. für Turcis (siehe oben S. 116).

¹⁾ In seinem Brief an Konrad III. von Dachau nennt er sich *E. Dei gratia sancte resurrectionis ecclesie patriarcha*; auf der Bulle, mit der der Brief besiegelt war, heißt es *ERACLIUS SCE RESURRECTIONIS ECCLESIE PATRIARCHA*. Allgemeines Staatsarchiv München, KU Scheyern Nr. 10; Faksimile in: Monumenta Boica 10 (1768), in fine; gedruckt in: Georg C. Joannes, Chronicon Schirensis (1716) S. 93–94. Über das Siegel siehe Hans E. Mayer, Das Siegelwesen in den Kreuzfah-
rerstaaten, Abh. München, N.F. 83 (1978) S. 34, Anm. 112 und Tafel 1.1, 2.

²⁾ Vgl. Matth. 7, 6.

³⁾ Vgl. Ps. 87, 17.

⁴⁾ Iob 6, 4.

⁵⁾ Vgl. Ier. 45, 3.

⁶⁾ Bernhard von Lydda und Rufin von Akkon. Siehe Libellus, S. 225, 227; Reinhold Röhrich, Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem (1100–1291) (1898) S. 428. Von den beiden scheint Bernhard dem Patriarch näher gestanden zu haben; im Jahre 1184 diente er als sein Stellvertreter: Röhrich, Regesta (wie Anm. 18 oben), Nr. 637a. Dies erklärt die Erwähnung des in Gefangenschaft geratenen Bernhard vor dem in der Schlacht gefallenen Rufin.

acie occumbente. Regem quoque nostrum et universum exercitum christianum manibus paganorum tradidit, omnibus qui bello interfuerunt partim gladio cesis partim in captivitatem ductis, paucis admodum fuge subsidio liberatis. Nec ista inimicis crucis Christi ad crudelitatis sue sacietatem suffecerunt. Quin etiam nomen christianum de sub celo delere molientes Terre Sancte civitates et castella – videlicet Gybeletum, Berytum, Sydonem, Acharon⁷, Tyberiadem, Nazareth, Sebasten, Neapolim, Caypham, Cesaram, Assur, Ioppen, Aschalon, Lyddam, Ibelinen⁸, Turonem⁹, Mirabel¹⁰, Betlehem et Ebron – caperent et sue dicioni subiugarent, omnibus ferme earum incolis in ore gladii consumptis. Heu heu, pater reverende, sic Terra Sancta, hereditas crucifixi, tradita est in manus paganorum. Heu sic proiecit Dominus hereditatem suam, *nec pepercit*¹¹, continens *in ira sua misericordias suas*¹². Animadvertat hoc pietas vestra et videat, *si est dolor similis sicut dolor noster*¹³, doleatque amore crucifixi Domini et nostri pro tanta doloris nostri magnitudine. Nam civitas sancta Ierusalem, que quondam per finitimas terras longe lateque dominari consueverat, in tantum ab inimicis crucis Christi est circumvallata, ut nulli de habitatoribus suis extra muros liber exitus pateat, ipsa et Tyro utcumque superstitibus. Sed nisi *Oriens ex alto secundum multitudinem miserationum suarum nos visitaverit*¹⁴, vestraque paternitas nobis in ultimo et metuendo nostre necessitatis articulo constitutis compatiens missis litteris et propriis nunciis omnes occidentalis terre principes ad succurrentum Sancte Terre velocius animaverit, a nobis eas per dimidium annum posse defendi omnino diffidimus, cum pro certo sanctitas vestra noverit, quod, si Traci^b bello iam recenter expleto sanctam civitatem adissent, eam omni humana defensione destitutam prorsus reperissent. Igitur quoniam nullum nobis post Deum aliud restat refugium, ad pedes sanctitatis vestre afflictiones nostras et miseras intolerabiles lacrimabiliter exponendo recurrimus, tanquam filii ad patrem, naufragi ad portum, ut paterna affectione viscera vestra super nos et super civitatem sanctam Ierusalem commoveantur. Quo vestro suffragante patrocinio Dominus propicie-

^{b)} so Hs.

⁷⁾ Akkon.

⁸⁾ Ibelin: Prawer-Benvenisti, Koordinaten 126/141.

⁹⁾ Toron des Chevaliers: Prawer-Benvenisti, Koordinaten 148/137.

¹⁰⁾ Prawer-Benvenisti, Koordinaten 146/165.

¹¹⁾ Threni 2, 2.

¹²⁾ Vgl. Ps. 76, 10: *Aut oliviscetur misereri Deus? aut continebit in ira sua misericordias suas?* Zitiert auch im Bericht der Genuesen an Urban III.: *Gesta* 2, S. 12.

¹³⁾ Vgl. Threni 1, 12.

¹⁴⁾ Vgl. Luc. 1, 78.

tur hereditati sue, *redimatque de interitu vitam nostram*¹⁵; vestroque consilio et auxilio velocius mittat nobis Dominus quem missurus est ad sublevandas terre sue inopias et conterendas que eam vehementius affligunt hostium infestationes. Porro ipse Saladinus universam terram optinens prope Ierusalem est, quem de die in diem exspectamus, quo eam veniat obsessurus. Omnes namque archiepiscopatus et episcopatus patriarchatus nostri preter Tyrensem et Petracensem occupavit.

HEC SUNT NOMINA CIVITATUM TERRE IEROSOLIMITANE, QUAS THURCI OCCUPAVERUNT, SIMUL ET CASTELLORUM:

Gybeletum, Beritum, Acchon, Thuronum¹⁶, Castellum Novum¹⁷, Tyberiadum cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, Cayphas, Cesarea, Assur, Ioppen, Ascalonem, Ybelinen¹⁸, Ramatha¹⁹, Lydda, Mirabel²⁰, Tharenta²¹, Betheropolis²², Ebron, Fiyr²³, Betlehem, Machumia²⁴, Castrum sancti Helie²⁵, Castrum Egidii²⁶, Neopolis²⁷, Gerinen²⁸, Sebasten, Nazareth, Mons Thabor.

¹⁵⁾ Vgl. Ps. 102, 4.

¹⁶⁾ Toron: Prawer-Benvenisti, Koordinaten 188/289.

¹⁷⁾ Chastel Neuf: Prawer-Benvenisti, Koordinaten 201/291.

¹⁸⁾ Ibelin, siehe Anm. 8 oben.

¹⁹⁾ Rames (ar. Ramla): Prawer-Benvenisti, Koordinaten 138/148.

²⁰⁾ Siehe Anm. 10 oben.

²¹⁾ Siehe oben S. 117f.

²²⁾ Bethnoble (Beth Nuba): Prawer-Benvenisti, Koordinaten 153/140.

²³⁾ Siehe oben S. 118f.

²⁴⁾ Richtig: Machumeria = Magna Mahomaria: Prawer-Benvenisti, Koordinaten 170/146.

²⁵⁾ Siehe oben S. 119.

²⁶⁾ Siehe oben S. 119.

²⁷⁾ Richtig: Neapolis = Naples (Nablus): Prawer-Benvenisti, Koordinaten 175/182.

²⁸⁾ Wahrscheinlich Le Grand Gerin: Prawer-Benvenisti, Koordinaten 178/207.

La Fève: A Crusader Castle in the Jezreel Valley*

BENJAMIN Z. KEDAR and DENYS PRINGLE

- * THE remains of the Templar castle of La Fève now lie buried under the lawns and houses of Kibbutz Merḥavya (map. ref. 179 223). However, descriptions by nineteenth-century travellers, a German aerial photograph from 1918, reports by the inspectors of the Palestine Department of Antiquities from the years 1920–1946 and, in particular, the observations of David Idlin of Merḥavya, trustee on behalf of the Department of Antiquities and Museums between 1950 and the present day, provide us with valuable evidence from which to assess the size and layout of this important Crusader castle, which guarded the main crossroads of the Jezreel Valley (Fig. 1.)

HISTORY OF THE SITE

The remains of the castle occupy the western part of a low artificial mound dating probably from the Early or Middle Bronze Age, situated at the south-western foot of the Little Hermon (Giv'at ha-Moreh) on the northern side of the Jezreel Valley. The site lies on the watershed which divides the waters flowing eastwards into the Jordan from those flowing west to the Mediterranean. The land round about is therefore by nature dry, making cultivation difficult, though water for drinking and for limited irrigation has always been obtainable from wells.¹ Surface water collecting north and north-east of La Fève, however, has to funnel past the west side of the natural spur on which the Bronze Age mound lies in order to reach the Nahal Harod and thence the Jordan. In the nineteenth century there still existed, just north-west of the castle mound, an area of

* This paper was written while the first author was Fellow of The Institute for Advanced Studies, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, and the second was assistant director of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. During our field work at Merḥavya we were assisted by David Idlin of Merḥavya. Dr. John Pryor of the University of Sydney, Australia, and by R. Ellenblum of Jerusalem. The contour survey which formed the basis of Fig. 2 was carried out by D. Idlin. Pl. 20:A–B are from the Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich, Abt. IV, Kriegsarchiv, Palästina-Bilder, No. 527, by courtesy of Dr. Gerhard Heyl. Pl. 20:B was enlarged by Gerd Zeller of Munich. Pl. 21:A–D are by D. Pringle.

¹ F.M. Abel noted in the 1930s that the well at 'Afūla station, 1.5 km. west of al-Fūla, was 60 m. deep and that water was reached at a depth of between 30 and 50 m.: *Géographie de la Palestine*,² I. Paris. 1967, p. 140.

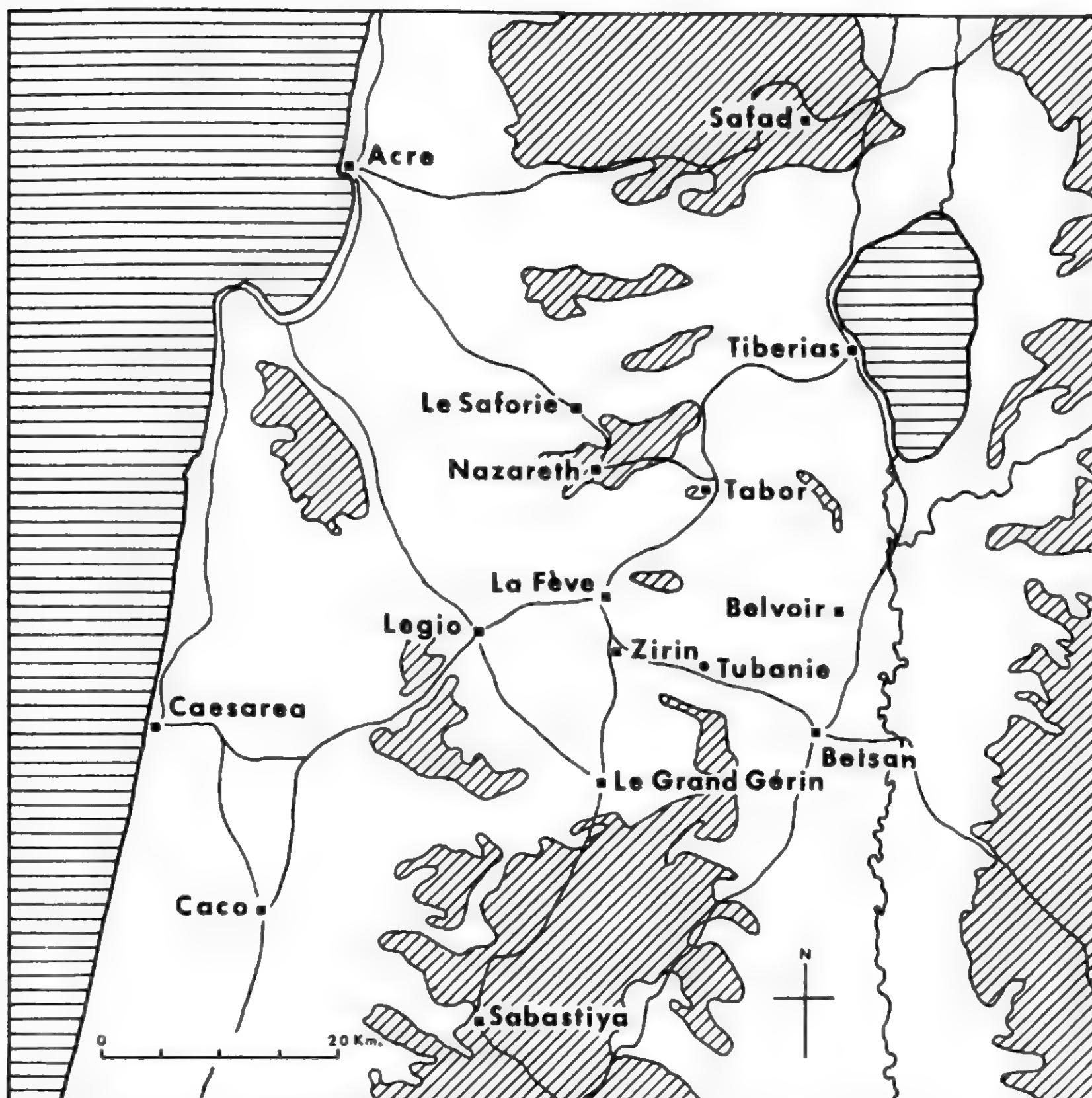


Fig. 1. Location map showing places mentioned in the text. Diagonal shading represents land over 100 m.

marsh which at certain times of the year became a small lake and haunt of waterfowl.² It was no doubt the existence of water in an arid landscape, together with the strategic position which La Fève occupied at the intersection of the valley road from Acre to Beth Shean with that coming from the south-west through the 'Ara Pass to Lajjūn (Crusader Legio) and continuing north to Nazareth and Tiberias, which account for the important place that it was to occupy in Crusading military history.

² C.R. Conder and H.H. Kitchener: *Survey of Western Palestine: Memoirs*, II, London, 1882, p. 82; Canon Tristram, in C.W. Wilson: *Picturesque Palestine*, London, c. 1882, p. 32. During the so-called Battle of Mount Tabor of 16 April 1799, the French passed through this lake and the water came up to their belts; S. Millet (ed.): *Le chasseur Pierre Millet, Souvenirs de la campagne d'Egypte (1798-1801)*, Paris, 1903, p. 108.

The name of the medieval castle, *La Fève* in Old French or *Faba* in Latin, is a simple translation of the Arabic name *al-Fūla*, meaning 'the bean'. The origin of this name, however, seems unlikely to be connected with vegetables. It is possible that *al-Fūla* represented the smaller of the two towns called *Apr* (or *Apī*) that are mentioned in the Syriah town list of Thutmose III (1504–1450 B.C.E.), the larger of which can be identified with more confidence as the mound of 'Afūla, situated 1.5 km. west of it.³

Al-Fūla does not appear again in documentary sources until the twelfth century C.E. The site has never been scientifically excavated, but chance finds on and around the castle mound indicate occupation in the Bronze Age, little or none in the Iron Age,⁴ but increasing settlement activity from the Hellenistic period onwards.⁵ Recent research has also shown that the principal Roman road from Legio to Scythopolis (Beth Shean), built by Vespasian in 69 C.E., passed only a few hundred metres south of the site,⁶ though the precise nature and status of the settlement there in Roman and Byzantine times remain uncertain.⁷

It is clear that a native village existed at *al-Fūla* in the early Islamic period. In a charter of 1101 by which Tancred, Prince of Galilee, confirmed the possessions of the newly founded Latin monastery of Mount Tabor, *Elfūl* is included as one of eleven villages (*casalia*) which had been deserted during a period of warfare.⁸ Quite possibly, the period in question should be identified with the time of disruption caused in Palestine by the Seljuk incursions in the mid-eleventh century, rather than with the advent of the Crusading host.⁹ Other western sources of this period continue to refer to the village by its Arabic name. It appears as *Elfule* in a bull of Pope Paschal II in July 1103, *Elfūl* in a charter of King Baldwin I in 1107 and *Effule* in a bull of Pope Eugenius III, dated May 1146.¹⁰ Since these three documents do not distinguish between inhabited and

³ M. Dothan: *The Excavations at 'Afula, Atiqot* (English Series) 1 (1955), pp. 22–23; *idem*, 'Afula, in M. Avi-Yonah (ed.): *EAEL*, I, Jerusalem, 1975, pp. 32–36.

⁴ As at 'Afūla; see Dothan (above, n. 3, *Atiqot*), pp. 22, 51–52.

⁵ N. Zori: *The Land of Issachar, an Archaeological Survey*, Jerusalem, 1977, p. 53, No. 77; Pl. 15:3 (Hebrew).

⁶ B. Isaac and J. Roll: *Roman Roads in Judaea, I: The Legio-Scythopolis Road*, Oxford, 1982, p. 33.

⁷ The paucity of remains of the Byzantine period on the mound at 'Afūla can hardly be taken as evidence for its eclipse by *al-Fūla* from the Hellenistic period onwards (*ibid.*). The nature of the settlement at *al-Fūla* itself and in the plain between the two mounds would have to be more thoroughly documented before one would be justified in drawing such a conclusion; Dothan (above, n. 3, *Atiqot*), p. 22.

⁸ 'Sunt autem et alia quedam casalia, ad ejusdem ecclesie jus pertinentia, que nunc, bellorum tempestate vastata, nullo coluntur habitatore, hec uidelicet: Casta, Mesara, Jubeim, Messa, Endor, Maluf, Elfūl, Mangana, Cresum, Buria, Capharmada'; J. Delaville le Roulx (ed.): *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1100–1310)*, II, Paris, 1897 (hereafter *Cartulaire*), p. 898. *Chartes du Mont-Thabor*, No. 1.

⁹ Excavations have shown, for example, that it was in this period that the southern suburb of Tiberias was finally deserted; E.D. Oren: *Tiberias, IEJ* 21 (1971), pp. 234–235; *idem*, *Ganei-Hamat (Tibériade)*, *RB* 78 (1971), pp. 435–437; *idem*, *Early Islamic Material from Ganei-Hamat (Tiberias)*, *Archaeology* 24 (1971), pp. 274–277.

¹⁰ *Cartulaire* II, p. 827, No. 2832 (a. 1103); p. 826, No. 2831 (a. 1107); p. 824, No. 2829 (a. 1146).

uninhabited villages of the monastery of Tabor, it is possible that some at least of the eleven of which Tancred had said in 1101 *nullo coluntur inhabitatore* were gradually repopulated during the early part of the twelfth century.

One may reason that since al-Fūla still belonged to the monastery of Tabor in 1146, it would have come into Templar hands only at a later date. But the charters of the 1100s mention *casalia* of the monastery that were assigned to knights, and it is possible therefore that al-Fūla was given to the Templars before 1146 and that only the right to its tithes, like those of the other *casalia* of Tabor held by knights, was retained by the monks.

The earliest mention of a Templar castle on the site appears in the *Itinerary of Theoderic*, the German pilgrim who visited the Holy Land in 1172. Theoderic writes that at the western foot of the Little Hermon, 'the Templars have built a not insignificant castle and constructed in its fields a large cistern with a wheeled engine for drawing water'.¹¹ Theoderic does not identify the castle by name, but his description suggests that it was a somewhat less formidable work than the nearby castle of Belvoir, which he calls a *fortissimum et amplissimum castrum* belonging to the Hospitallers.

Sometime between 1180 and 1184, more than a hundred Templar knights gathered at La Fève to consider the case of Robert of Sourdeval, a delinquent member of the Order.¹² The assembly was convened by the Seneschal of the Temple, Gerard of Ridefort, who was to return to La Fève in 1187 on more pressing business. Gerard's report on the assembly, however, the only Frankish letter ever found in Palestine, cannot be taken to prove that the castle of La Fève was capable of accommodating a hundred knights or more, for it is possible that, as was to happen in 1187, many of them pitched camp outside the walls.

When Saladin invaded the Crusading Kingdom in September 1183, he encamped at the Spring of Tubanie, some 16 km. south-east of La Fève: thereupon the Frankish army, under the command of Guy of Lusignan, left its camp at Le Saforie and marched to La Fève, where it encamped on 30 September. On the following day, the Patriarch

¹¹ '...mons Hermon, in cuius occidentali radice Templarii castrum non mediocre fecerunt, in cuius agro cisternam grandem, rotalem machinam ad deducendam aquam habentem, constituerunt'. Theodericus: *Libellus de locis sanctis*, ed. M.L. and W. Bulst, Heidelberg, 1976, p. 46; p. 76, n. 7; cf. M. Benvenisti: *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, Jerusalem, 1970, pp. 265–266, 323. An ingenious donkey-wheel, perhaps similar to the one Theoderic mentions at La Fève, existed in the former Templar castle of Safad in around 1300, and is described in detail by al-Dimashqi (translation in G. Le Strange: *Palestine under the Moslems*, London, 1890, pp. 524–525). A donkey-wheel of the late sixteenth century, made to replace 'an earlier one of similar type', survives in working order in the castle of Carisbrooke: C. Peers: *Carisbrooke Castle, Isle of Wight*, London, 1948, repr. 1968, p. 6.

¹² '...coadunavimus capitulum nostrum apud Fabam et fuerunt ibi bene C. milites et amplius': F.-M. Abel: *Lettre d'un Templier trouvée récemment à Jérusalem*, RB 35 (1926), p. 290; re-edited by Marie Luise Bulst-Thiele: *Sacrae domus militiae templi hierosolymitani magistri. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Templerordens 1118/19–1314*, Göttingen, 1974, p. 360. Abel assumes (p. 294) that the assembly took place in the summer of 1184, but his belief that La Fève was reinforced after the campaign of 1183 has no secure foundation.

Eraclius gave the Sacrament to all knights and sergeants, and then the army moved on to Tubanie to dislodge Saladin's forces. A stalemate ensued, lasting for several days. When Saladin eventually left his position, the Franks, fearing that he would attack Tiberias, fell back on La Fève and made camp there, intending to march to Tiberias the following day. But when they learned that Saladin had recrossed the Jordan back into his own territory they returned to Le Saforie. The castle of La Fève thus served twice within one campaign as a staging point for the entire Frankish army.¹³

The first of May 1187 was the most dramatic day of La Fève's short history as a castle. Late in April, King Guy and the Patriarch Eraclius had dispatched to Tiberias the Masters of the Temple and of the Hospital, the Archbishop of Tyre, Balian of Ibelin and Reginald of Sidon, to make peace there with Raymond of Tripoli. On 30 April, the envoys (with the exception of Balian, who had stayed behind in Nablus) reached the castle of La Fève. There they received word from Raymond of Tripoli that on the following day a Muslim force would enter Galilee with his permission. Gerard of Ridefort, Master of the Temple, immediately summoned the Templars of the priory of Caco; these arrived at La Fève before midnight and pitched their tents before the castle. The next day, 1 May, Gerard led the combined Frankish forces to the Fountain of Cresson, north-east of Nazareth, where they were wiped out by the Muslims, only the squires managing to escape.

Meanwhile, Balian of Ibelin reached La Fève from Nablus and found the tents before the castle empty and the castle's gate open, but no one in sight. In his astonishment, Balian sent his squire into the castle to rouse the occupants, but the man found there 'neither man nor woman' who could tell him what had happened. Finally he came across two sick men lying in a chamber, but even they were unable to enlighten him. Only after he had set out for Nazareth did Balian learn of the disaster at Cresson.¹⁴

What was the size of the Templar garrison of La Fève that was destroyed on 1 May 1187? According to the Continuation of the Chronicle of William of Tyre, Gerard of Ridefort led to Cresson 90 (or according to another version 80) Templar knights, 10 Hospitallers who were accompanying the Master of their Order, and 40 knights of the King from Nazareth, in all 140 knights.¹⁵ As the 90 Templars of the first version tally with the grand total of 140 knights, this figure should be preferred to the 80 of the other

¹³ On the role of La Fève in the campaign of 1183, see L. de Mas Latrie (ed.): *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, Paris, 1871 (hereafter *Chronique d'Ernoul*), pp. 98–99, 102. For discussion, see R.C. Smail: *Crusading Warfare (1097–1193)*, Cambridge, 1956, pp. 152–154; idem, The Predicaments of Guy of Lusignan, 1183–87, in B.Z. Kedar, H.E. Mayer and R.C. Smail (eds.): *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem presented to Joshua Prawer*, Jerusalem 1982, pp. 164–173.

¹⁴ *Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 143–150. For a somewhat shorter account as far as La Fève is concerned, see M. Ruth Morgan (ed.): *La continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184–1197)*, Paris, 1982 (hereafter *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*), pp. 37–40.

¹⁵ Ninety Templars are mentioned in the *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, p. 39, and 80 in the *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 146. Both versions also mention 10 Hospitallers and 40 knights of the King, and give the total as 140.

version. Now, assuming that Gerard of Ridefort, like the Master of the Hospital, took with him from Jerusalem about ten members of his own Order, the combined Templar forces of La Fève and Caco would have amounted to 80 knights. There is no certain way of telling which of the two places had the larger Templar garrison, though it seems reasonable to assume that it was La Fève. Caco is normally identified with Qāqūn, a village commanded by a small keep-and-bailey castle lying in the coastal plain south-east of Caesarea and 45 km. from La Fève. This identification, however, is seriously questionable, and a more plausible candidate might perhaps be Kh. Qara (Cara), 6.5 km. east of La Fève.¹⁶ Neither of these two places, however, would have warranted a garrison larger than La Fève's. The garrison of La Fève might therefore have numbered between 50 and 60 knights, besides sergeants and other combatant and non-combatant retainers, a sizable force by the standards of the day.¹⁷

After Saladin's defeat of the Franks at the battle of Hattin on 4 July 1187, the towns and castles of the Crusading Kingdom, denuded of their defenders, fell one after the other. La Fève was one of them. The most detailed Latin account of these events mentions merely that the Muslims took, amongst other places, the *castellum militiae Templi quod uocatur Faba*.¹⁸ But 'Imād al-Dīn, Saladin's secretary, who has left a florid description of the conquest, dedicates a lengthy passage to the capture of the fortress:

And al-Fūla was the best castle and the most fortified, the fullest of men and munitions and the best provided. And it was for the Templars a very powerful fortress, a strong place and a reliable pillar. They had there an inaccessible fountain, an excellent pasture place, a firm base; and there they spent winter and summer. It was a place where they met and received people, a place where they guarded their horses, a

¹⁶ One version of these events relates that Caco lay 4 miles from La Fève: *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, p. 38; Eracles, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux*, II, Paris, 1859, p. 39. Another version says four leagues, which might be interpreted as a four-hour journey, but even this reads 'miles' in one manuscript: *Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 145–146. However, the distance from Qāqūn to La Fève, though it might perhaps be covered in a four-hour ride, could not be mistaken for 4 miles. Moreover, the village and castle of Qāqūn belonged to the lord of Caesarea at least as late as 1175, when there is mention of a viscount (*Cartulaire*, I, pp. 322–323, No. 470), and they did so still in 1253 (*Cartulaire*, II, pp. 749–750, No. 266). The presence of a garrison of Templar knights there in 1187 would therefore be hard to explain, especially as there is no other indication of Templar interest in the place in either the twelfth or the thirteenth century. Since none of the sources mentions a Templar castle at Caco but only a convent or priory, it seems quite possible that the place lay somewhere else, closer to La Fève. One possibility is Kh. Qara (map ref. 185 222), 6.5 km. east of La Fève, which is referred to as Cara among the villages of the Mount Tabor monastery in 1103 (*Cartulaire*, II, p. 827, No. 2832) and 1146 (*ibid.*, p. 824, No. 2829) and Kara in 1107 (*ibid.*, p. 826, No. 2831). The village and castle of Qāqūn are described and discussed by D. Pringle: *The Red Tower: Settlement in the Plain of Sharon at the Time of the Crusaders and Mamluks (A.D. 1099–1516)*, London, 1985; see also G. Beyer: *Das Gebiet der Kreuzfahrerherrschaft Caesarea in Palästina*, *ZDPV* 59 (1936), pp. 40–41; Benvenisti (above, n. 11), pp. 198–199. For Kh. Qara, the *Schedule of Historical Monuments and Sites*, published in *Yalqut Hapirsumim (Official Gazette)*, No. 1091, 18 May 1964, para 45, p. 1399 (Hebrew), mentions only 'Ruined walls, tombs, cisterns'.

¹⁷ The garrison of the vast Templar castle of Safad, for example, consisted in 1260 of 50 knights, 30 sergeants, 50 turcopoles, 300 archers, 820 workmen and 400 slaves; R.B.C. Huygens (ed.): *De constructione castri Saphet*, Amsterdam, 1981, p. 41.

¹⁸ J. Stevenson (ed.): *De expugnatione Terrae Sanctae libellus* (Rolls Series 66), London, 1875, p. 232.

place where the torrents [of their men] flowed, a meeting place of their brethren, the residence of their devil and the place of their crosses, where their masses assembled and their fire was kindled. When the day of the battle arrived, they came to their downfall, being certain that gloom would have no power over the lucidity of that place. And when they were defeated and taken prisoner, lost and trodden down, the hills of al-Fūla were empty, their people dispersed, the blood of their Templar knights drained out, their drawn swords never more to be joined to their scabbards. Only subjected poor people, squires, valets and dispersed groups remained there. They had no longer any power to protect the place and found security in asking for a safe conduct. And they handed over the fortress to the Sultan with all that was in it; and there were there the best of their treasures and the most precious of their jewels. And they relied on the contract which they had made, and they left in order to escape.¹⁹

Shortly after the conquest of La Fève the Muslims started to dismantle its fortifications and to remove the materials that the Templars had left behind. A Muslim caravan loaded with arms, utensils and victuals taken from La Fève was raided by the Hospitallers of Belvoir, so reports a Templar official in January 1188.²⁰ The site appears to have remained unfortified for some time, for when in 1217 contingents of the Fifth Crusade passed through the plain of La Fève (*per planum Fabe*) to the Spring of Tubanie, La Fève itself figured neither as a target nor as an obstacle.²¹

In about 1239, the *castrum Fabbarum* appears in a list of former Frankish possessions then in Muslim hands.²² Shortly afterwards, in 1240–41, the region passed again into Frankish hands as a result of the treaty made between Richard of Cornwall and al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb of Egypt, and La Fève became Templar once more.²³ In the meantime, however, the Hospitallers had received the possessions and rights of the monastery of Mount Tabor, and these presumably would have included a claim to the tithes from the village and lands of La Fève. At any rate, when in 1262 the two Military Orders came to an agreement, the Hospitallers ceded to the Templars whatever rights they had over La Fève.²⁴ The fact that the place is referred to as a village (*casa*) in this document does not mean that the castle had ceased to exist. Quite possibly a village continued to exist beneath the walls of the castle throughout the period of Frankish

¹⁹ 'Imād al-Dīn al-Īsfahānī: *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*, ed. C. de Landberg, Leiden, 1888, pp. 34–35. The French translation by H. Massé, Paris, 1972, pp. 36–37, is occasionally inexact. The authors are indebted to the late Prof. Eliyahu Ashtor, who translated this passage into English. R. Röhricht seems to have assumed on the basis of the summary of this passage in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Orientaux*, IV, Paris, 1898, p. 301, that the defenders of La Fève mounted a sortie in July 1187: *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem (1100–1291)*, Innsbruck, 1897, pp. 444–445. It is far more probable that the day of battle to which 'Imād al-Dīn refers was 1 May 1187.

²⁰ The event is reported thus: 'Frates uero Hospitalis de Belliuero optime resistunt Sarracenis adhuc, et duas jam caruanas Sarracenorum expugnauerunt: in quorum alterius captione omnia arma et utensilia et uictuaria que erant in castro Fabe, quod Sarraceni destruxerant, uiriliter lucrati sunt': *Cartulaire*, I, p. 527. No. 847.

²¹ H. Hoogeweg (ed.): *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters Oliverus*, Tübingen, 1894, pp. 164, 289.

²² P. Deschamps: *Etude sur un texte latin énumérant les possessions musulmanes dans le Royaume de Jérusalem vers l'année 1239*, *Syria* 23 (1942–1943), p. 88; G. Beyer: *Die Kreuzfahrergebiete Akko und Galilaea*, *ZDPV* 67 (1944–1945), p. 231.

²³ J. Prawer: *Histoire du Royaume latin de Jérusalem*², II, Paris, 1975, pp. 283–287, Map VIII.

²⁴ *Cartulaire*, III, p. 31, No. 3028; Abel (above, n. 12), p. 294, n. 2.

occupation. In any case, twenty-three years later the Dominican Burchard of Mount Sion mentions it as *castellum quod dicitur Faba*. But by then it was again firmly in Muslim hands.²⁵

After the collapse of the Crusading Kingdom, the castle appears to have fallen into disuse. By the end of the sixteenth century, settled life in the Jezreel Valley had virtually ceased to exist. The Ottoman survey of 1596/7 records twenty-six Muslim families settled at Sūlam, 2.5 km. east of al-Fūla, and four at Zir'in (le Petit Gerin), 4.5 km. to the south-south-east. If al-Fūla was occupied at all, it seems likely that it would have been only on a temporary or seasonal basis by families from one of the twenty-seven nomadic tribes which roamed the Jezreel Valley at that time.²⁶

Latterly a small village named al-Fūla established itself among the ruins of the medieval castle. After centuries of obscurity, the village emerges on to the pages of world history in 1799, when on 16 April the so-called Battle of Mount Tabor raged in its immediate vicinity, with the Turks positioning infantry and two light cannon in the village and the French storming it by bayonet. General Kléber, whose men took the village, refers to it as 'un fort'.²⁷ At that time, the outline of the Templar castle must still have been easily recognizable, for al-Fūla appears on Jacotin's map as an almost perfect quadrangle.²⁸

Later writers mention substantial remains of the Templar castle. In 1822, J.S. Buckingham left the following description:

Continuing over the plain in the same direction [south], we passed at one o'clock, under the village of Fooli, leaving it a little on our left. We observed here the fragments of a large building still remaining, whose walls seemed to be of Saracenic structure, and at the wells without the village we saw two pentroosed covers of sarcophagi: one of which was ornamented with sculptures.²⁹

In April 1843, the site was visited by John Wilson, who noted that the village was 'surrounded by a military wall, much broken down in several parts, but bearing evidence of its former strength'.³⁰

In 1859, the village's population numbered some 64 souls, living in mud houses, and its lands covered 14 feddans (about 6 hectares).³¹ The officers of the Survey of Western

²⁵ *Peregrinatores medii aei quatuor*, ed. J.C.M. Laurent, Leipzig, 1864, pp. 49–50; Marino Sanudo: *Liber secretorum fidelium Crucis*, ed. J. Bongars, Hanau, 1611, repr. Jerusalem, 1972, p. 249.

²⁶ W.-D. Hütteroth and K. Abdulsattah: *Historical Geography of Palestine, Transjordan and Southern Syria in the Late 16th Century*, Erlangen, 1977, pp. 160–161. The nomads, numbering 400 families, are listed (p. 161, No. 235) for financial purposes as 'Urbān Marj Ibn 'Amir'.

²⁷ C. de la Jonquière: *L'Expédition d'Egypte, 1798–1801*, IV, Paris, c. 1900, pp. 417–421.

²⁸ *Atlas of Israel*, Jerusalem, 1970, Sheet 1/4.

²⁹ *Travels in Palestine*, II, London, 1822, p. 381.

³⁰ *The Lands of the Bible, Visited and Described*, II, Edinburgh, 1847, p. 89; see also F. de Saulcy: *Voyage en Terre Sainte*, II, Paris, 1865, p. 256.

³¹ Conder and Kitchener (above, n. 2), p. 82.

Palestine, who visited al-Fūla in the 1870s, also noted the remains of the castle: 'The moat is 112 feet [34 m.] wide. Some 50 yards [46 m.] of wall are standing. The masonry, rudely dressed, of stones $2\frac{1}{2}$ by 2 feet [0.76 x 0.61 m.], wedged in with smaller, has no appearance of antiquity. A ruined chapel exists south of the place.'³² This chapel, or church, is also indicated on the P.E.F. map (Sheet IX), some 200 m. south-south-east of the castle.

A more detailed description of the castle is given by Victor Guérin, who visited the site in 1875, apparently a little after the first visit by the Survey:

Two wells, called one and the other Bir Fouleh, drew my attention for a moment, because in the space that separated them I observed the remains of an ancient tower, measuring fifteen paces long and eleven wide. There remain of it several courses built with blocks of medium size, and some fragments of mosaic in small differently coloured cubes. At present an Arab family has elected to live there and have built a miserable dwelling on the part of the site that they occupy.

A short distance towards the east, there stand on a hill the remains of an ancient citadel. The walls of it were very thick, as is shown by several stretches still standing. Filled on the inside with a very compact rubble masonry, they were faced externally with large blocks, either completely smooth or with drafted edges. Four gates, one at each of the cardinal points, gave access to this rectangular enclosure. Wide and deep ditches, today partly filled in and choked with thistles [or cactus?] surrounded it. About fifteen Arab families inhabit it at present, living in poor houses, themselves falling into ruin.³³

In 1910, al-Fūla village and its lands were bought by the Zionist Organization, and soon the cooperative settlement of Merhavia, based on the ideas of the sociologist Franz Oppenheimer, arose just east of the remains of the Crusader castle. Joseph Rabinovitz, one of the early settlers, relates how he and his comrades started to remove the vast quantity of dung which had accumulated in the ruins of the castle and to spread it on the fields; but the Turkish governor of Nazareth, fearing that the work might damage the remains, repeatedly prohibited them. The settlers, however, continued their work between inspections.³⁴ Oppenheimer himself visited the new village in 1913, and observed that 'the deep vaulted storage cellars [of the Crusader castle] are still preserved'.³⁵ Sa'adya Paz, another founding member of Merhavia, relates that the Arab villagers had stored their straw in these cellars; while another early settler, Gershon Geffner, writes that west of the Arab village there was a single, ancient well with a mill right next to it.³⁶

³² *Ibid.*, p. 101. As a result of a slight confusion, the name appears as El 'Afuleh on this page, but correctly as El Fūleh on pp. 82 and 116.

³³ *Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine*, III: Galilée, I, Paris, 1880, pp. 110–111.

³⁴ J. Rabinovitz: *Merhavia* (La-No'ar 58–59), Tel Aviv, 1936, p. 19 (Hebrew).

³⁵ F. Oppenheimer: Im heiligen Lande, *Die Welt, Zentralorgan der Zionistischen Bewegung* 17 (1913), p. 923; idem, *Merchavia: A Jewish Co-Operative Settlement in Palestine*, Cologne and New York, 1914, p. 17.

³⁶ E. Lubrani (ed.): *Co-Operative Merhavia*, Tel Aviv, 1961, pp. 60, 98 (Hebrew).

The railway from Haifa to Beisan was built in 1904, passing just 600 m. south of al-Fūla. At one time water from the well at al-Fūla was used to replenish the locomotives at 'Afūla station, 1.5 km. to the west. Between November 1917 and September 1918, a field west of the castle site, between it and 'Afūla, was used as an airfield by the Bavarian Fliegerabteilung 304b, on secondment to the Turkish army. One happy result of this is the aerial photograph of the area shown in Pl. 20:A-B, in which the mound and ditches of the medieval castle are clearly visible, with the more regular layout of the Jewish settlement just east of them.

It was not long, however, before the remains of medieval La Fève, once so prominent a feature of the landscape, began to be eclipsed by the growth of Merhavya. A report on that site of 1920 mentions that a considerable amount of terracing work had already been done on the castle mound by workmen of the Zionist Commission, and that loose blocks of stone had been removed to 'Afūla for sale.³⁷ Permission was given at that time by the District Governor for trees to be planted on it, and this was evidently done by 1928.³⁸ The reports of Makhouly of the Palestine Department of Antiquities document the progressive delapidation of the site between 1928 and 1946. In 1928, for example, he writes, 'A small artificial mound planted with trees. It has traces of outer wall and moat round about it, on top vaulted houses, partly ruined, of Crusader origin.'³⁹ These are no doubt the houses visible on the aerial photograph. In 1935, however, he writes, 'There are no more houses on the site. Large stones from Crusaders' wall are scattered on the site. There is an arch appearing to the eye in the middle of the site.'⁴⁰ A little over ten years later, in 1946, Makhouly's report contains a note of alarm: 'I was surprised to find that the whole of the site of the Crusaders' castle... was occupied by new buildings, built recently by the Merhavia Kibbutz without permission. All the stones from the old material on surface were collected and heaped at the western side of the site.'⁴¹ David Idlin kindly informs us that the houses had in fact been built on the site, for security reasons, six years previously. The result of this infringement of the Antiquities Law was the imposition of a fine on the kibbutz.

Today the houses and trees remain, but scant trace is left to see of the castle, save for its general outline, visible in the contours of the site and an occasional outcropping of masonry (see Fig. 2). Periodic subsidence of the land surface, however, suggests that much remains below ground, perhaps to be excavated one day by archaeologists with the time and resources necessary.

³⁷ Report by E. Mackay, dated 23/9/20, in Records File No. 140 in the archives of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums (hereafter referred to as *IDAM*) housed in the Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, and inspected by kind permission of the Department.

³⁸ N. Makhouly, *IDAM*, 21/1/28. Three years later, Makhouly notes, 'The moat turned into a forest of Eucalyptus trees' (*IDAM*, 8/12/31).

³⁹ *IDAM*, 21/1/28.

⁴⁰ *IDAM*, 27/11/35.

⁴¹ *IDAM*, 9/4/46.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCUSSION

The Castle

The evidence of the sources described above and the physical remains surviving at Kibbutz Merḥavya suggest that the central part of the castle consisted of a sub-rectangular enclosure, measuring at most about 80–90 m. (NS) × 110–120 m. (EW), built on the highest, western part of the mound of al-Fūla. It was surrounded by a ditch some 30–35 m. wide, which appears on the P.E.F. map and on the 1918 aerial photograph to have had a somewhat oval plan. Today the castle mound rises only 4–5 m. above the bottom of the ditch; presumably the ditch was once deeper and possibly more rectilinear in shape. In the west it is covered up; in the north-east it has been preserved owing to the repeated efforts of D. Idlin.

Hardly a trace now remains visible of the buildings that once crowned the castle mound. The aerial photograph of 1918 shows what seems to have been a collapsed vaulted range, running along the northern edge of the mound in a straight line, bent in the middle. This is no longer visible, but a 3.45 m. stretch of the eastern wall of another barrel-vault (Fig. 2, No. 2) can still be seen on the west side of the mound, running north-south. This is built with ashlars, 40–41 cm. high. The width of the vault is uncertain. It would therefore seem likely that, as at Belvoir and other twelfth-century castles, the rectangular enclosure would have had a series of barrel-vaulted chambers constructed against its inner face.

It is uncertain whether the enclosure had projecting towers, either at the corners or elsewhere. At one point in the south-west (Fig. 2, No. 3), there survives a 4.37 m. stretch of what was evidently once an external wall, but whether of a tower or a curtain wall is not certain. This has an inclined face, built with ashlars at least 0.56 m. high and 0.91 m. long. It appears to have had an opening cut through it on the south, presenting a fairly smooth face. It is difficult to tell, however, how this wall relates to the other fragmentary wall surviving 43 m. north of it (Fig. 2, No. 2).

On the south side of the mound (Fig. 2, No. 4), a low pointed archway appears just above ground level (Pl. 21:A). This would seem to be the arch that Makhouly saw in 1935. It is at least 2.54 m., and probably as much as 2.8 m., wide; its finely dressed voussoirs form a straight face on the northern side. Evidently it represents a doorway through a wall (at least 1.6 m. thick) running east-west; but whether it led south into the southern range of the castle or north into a different structure is not quite clear.

A number of other structures are visible on the aerial photograph of 1918, but it is now virtually impossible to assign dates to them. They seem to have included groin-vaults as well as the barrel-vaults already mentioned, for in 1920 E. Mackay wrote, 'On the summit of the mound are the remains of two vaults of the Arab period with groined roofs of rubble supported in the case of one vault with square piers partly cased with fine masonry at their bases. The arches between the piers are pointed in form with voussoirs of well cut blocks.'⁴² Two blocks from piers of this type lie today in the

⁴² *IDAM*, 7/10/20.

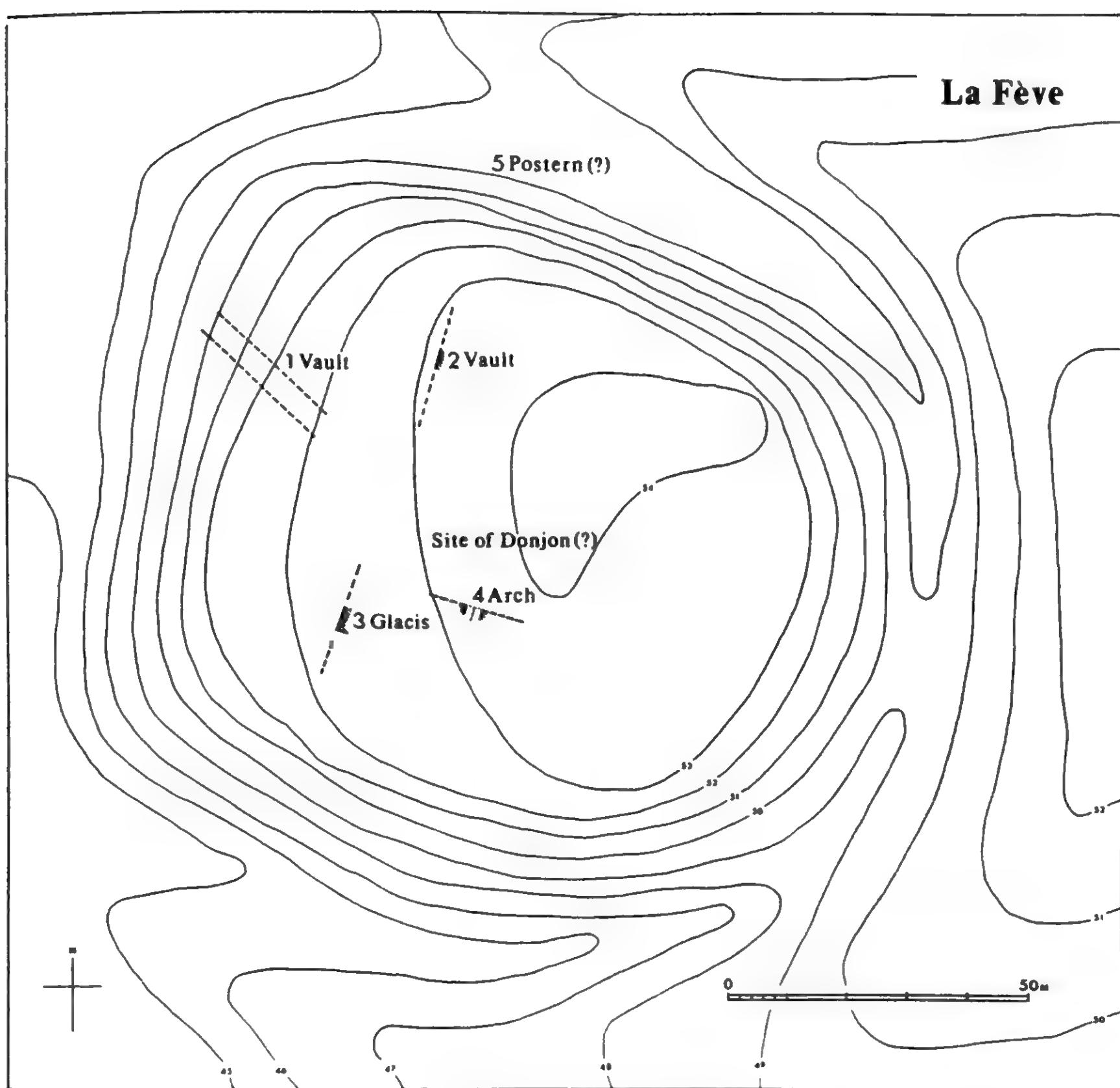


Fig. 2. Site of Crusader castle.

northern castle ditch. They are respectively 0.26 and 0.27 m. high, 0.43 and 0.47 m. long and 0.3 and 0.34 m. wide, with a 0.08 m. chamfer along one edge. Both had depressions cut in their upper and lower surfaces to receive the mortar and ensure a tight fit between courses.

In the centre of the mound, D. Idlin informs us that there still exists below ground a large vaulted chamber that was still accessible and used for storage in the 1940s. It is possible that the arch, the upper part of which is still visible (Fig. 2, No. 4), formerly led into this. The chamber apparently extended for some 100 m. from east to west, with a groined intersection at the centre. Possibly it formed the basement for some kind of keep or *donjon*, though without excavation it is impossible to tell its purpose. As a cautionary note it may also be recalled that the castle of Belvoir was for many years

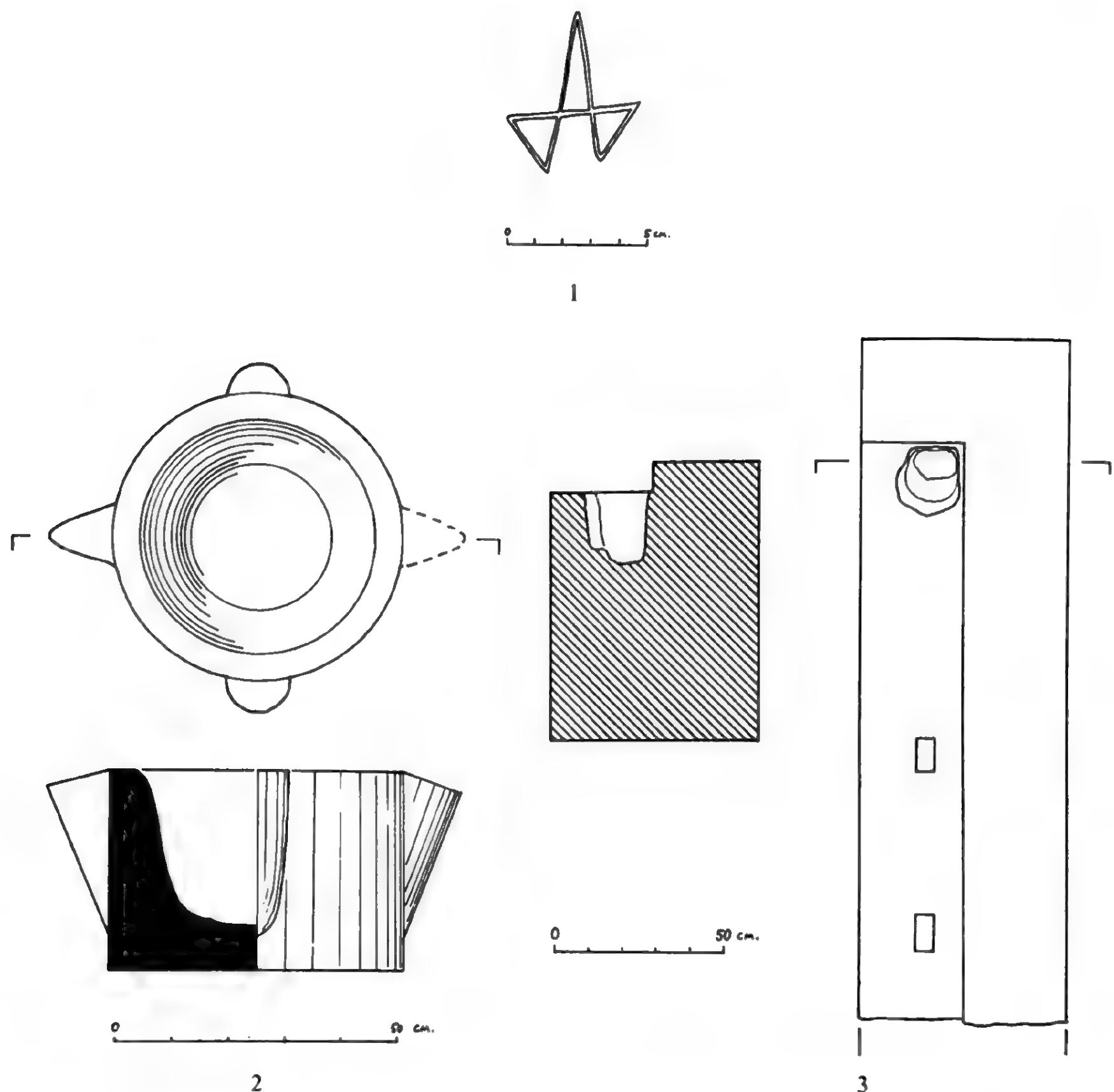


Fig. 3. 1—masonry mark; 2—stone mortar; 3—threshold of medieval doorway.
For descriptions, see below, p. 179.

thought to have had a keep, until excavations in the 1960s decisively proved otherwise.⁴³

In 1875 V. Guérin claimed to have seen four gates, one at each of the cardinal points. Given the orientation of the castle, this would imply that there existed a gate at the

⁴³ The originator of this heresy seems to have been E. Rey: *Les colonies franques de Syrie aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, Paris, 1883, p. 437. It is repeated in Conder and Kitchener (above, n. 2), p. 119. It was considered sceptically by T.E. Lawrence: *Crusader Castles*, I, London, 1936, p. 40, but appears to have continued to exert an influence over writers on the castle as late as 1956; see R.C. Smail: *Crusading Warfare*, Cambridge, 1956, p. 231. On the excavations of 1966–1967, see M. Ben-Dov: Belvoir, in M. Avi-Yonah (ed.): *EAHL*, I, Jerusalem, 1975, pp. 179–184.

centre of each wall. This seems an unnecessarily large number of gates for a castle of this size; the outer ward of Belvoir, for example, which is slightly larger than La Fève, had only two, while Saranda Kolones in Cyprus, which is of comparable size, had only one.⁴⁴ If some of these gates were not simply later insertions, it is possible that what Guérin saw were posterns. D. Idlin tells us, for instance, that on the northern side of the mound a masonry tunnel was at one time visible running into the mound from the level of the ditch (see Fig. 2, No. 5). It was about 0.8 m. wide and 1.2–1.5 m. high. Similar postern gates, usually sited next to or in the side walls of towers, are to be seen today at Belvoir and Caesarea.

The main gate seems to have been on the west. On the 1918 aerial photograph, an outer horn-work like that on the southern side of Crac des Chevaliers⁴⁵ is clearly visible on the west. The basis of this earthwork was probably provided by the western extension of the ancient mound, which was detached from the castle mound by the castle's ditch; its sides may also have been partly scarped. Until recent times, this horn-work served as the main approach to the village of al-Fūla, built on the mound; the artificial ramp leading across the castle ditch is also visible on the photograph.⁴⁶ The ramp was probably a post-medieval construction. A vault, no longer visible but apparently still surviving beneath the western part of the mound (Fig. 2, No. 1), may however have been connected with the entrance to the castle.

In 1928, Makhouly noted traces of an outer wall. It is unclear whether by this he means a wall outside the moat or a counterscarp wall. If the former, La Fève would provide another example of so-called 'concentric' castle-planning in the twelfth century, of which Belvoir, Saranda Kolones and the walls of Acre are the best-known Crusader examples.⁴⁷ The plan of the castle, however, is uncertain and requires clarification by excavation. We cannot even be sure, for example, whether the wall had projecting towers (though this seems likely), nor whether there was at the centre of the castle a *donjon* or an open courtyard. As for size, it seems that the castle would have been a little smaller than Belvoir and a little larger than Saranda Kolones. Sixty knights would therefore seem quite a realistic figure for the size of the garrison that was wiped out on that fateful day, 1 May 1187.

⁴⁴ For Belvoir, see n. 43. For Saranda Kolones, see A.H.S. Megaw: Excavations at 'Saranda Kolones', Paphos. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* (1971), pp. 117–146, Pl. XXIX–XXXIV; idem, Saranda Kolones: A Medieval Castle Excavated at Paphos. *Praktikou tou Protou Diethnous Kyprologikou Sunedriou*, II. Nicosia, 1972, pp. 173–182, Pls. XIV–XIX; idem, Supplementary Excavations on a Castle Site at Paphos, Cyprus, 1970–1971, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26 (1972), pp. 322–343; idem, Saranda Kolones 1981, *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* (1982), pp. 210–216, Pl. XLVIII.

⁴⁵ The significance of the out-work at Crac is discussed by D.J. Cathcart King: The Taking of Le Krak des Chevaliers in 1271. *Antiquity* 23 (1949), pp. 83–92.

⁴⁶ Most of the horn-work was dug away in the 1960s to provide a level platform on which to build a swimming pool. The weight of the water in the pool, however, caused a medieval vault to collapse beneath it, thereby emptying the pool and putting an end to the scheme.

⁴⁷ See nn. 43, 44. Acre was surrounded by a double wall between 1198 and 1212; D. Jacoby: Montmusard, Suburb of Crusader Acre, in Kedar *et al.* (eds.) (above, n. 13), pp. 211–214.

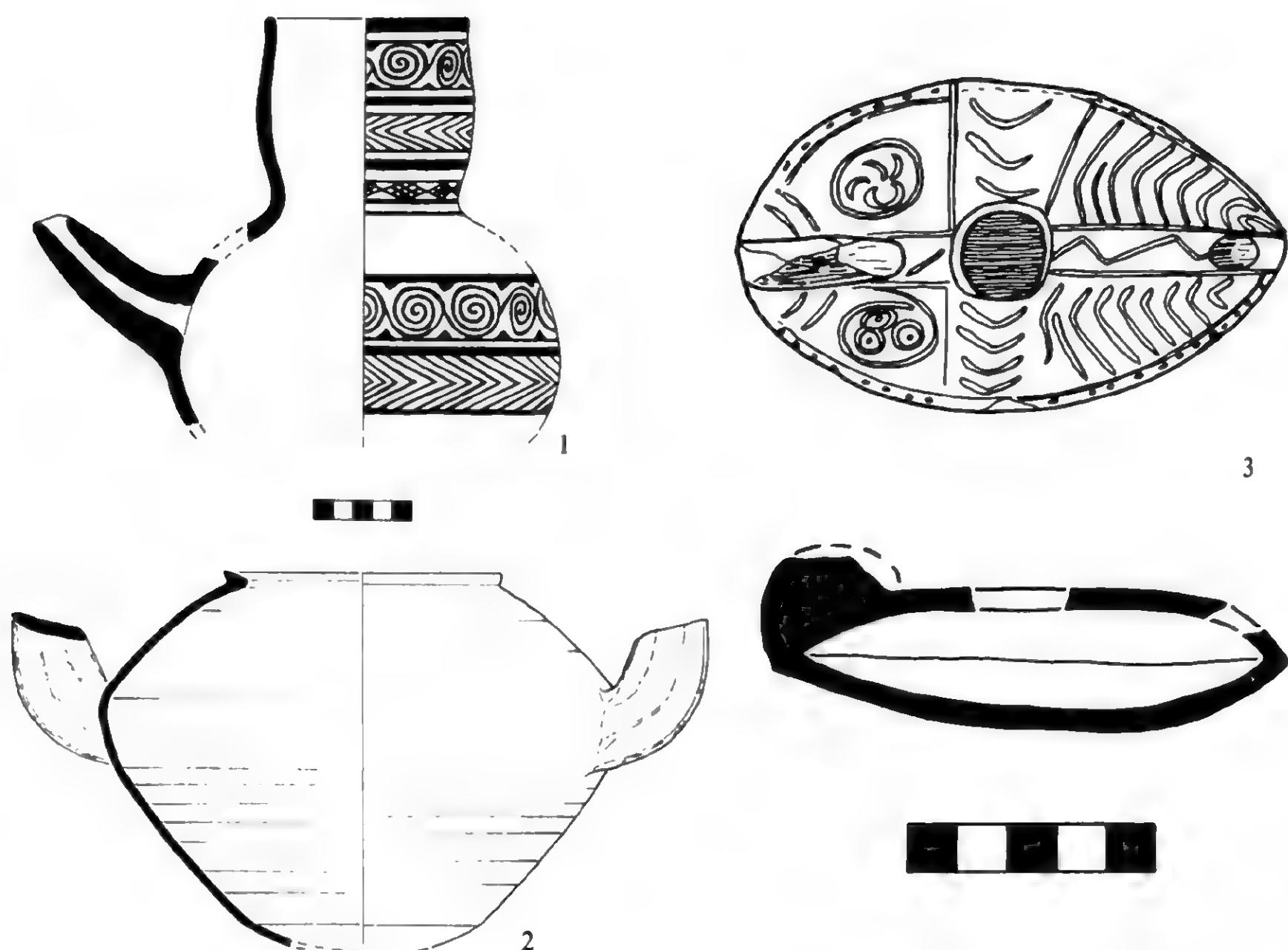


Fig. 4. Pottery from the site of the 'church', now in the museum of Kibbutz Merhavya. 1—hand-made painted ware; 2—glazed cooking pot; 3—medieval lamp. For descriptions, see below, p. 179.

The Cistern

The marshy area north and west of the castle recorded by nineteenth-century travellers is represented today by a small grove of eucalyptus trees some 150 m. from the castle mound. Here water lies only a short way below the surface, contained, so it would appear, in a series of voids which may perhaps represent the remains of former cisterns. In one of these voids, the water surface was measured in July 1984 just 8 m. below ground level. The 'wells' of al-Fūla are now blocked up, but the Kibbutz pumps water from one of the voids in this area at the rate of 20 m.³ per hour from a depth of 15 m.

These voids seem likely to represent the partially collapsed remains of the cistern which Theoderic saw in 1172. Though Theoderic credits the Templars with its construction, it is possible that it predated the Crusader castle. It would have been fed, as today, by surface water collecting naturally in this particular area. On the other hand 'Imād al-Dīn refers to an 'inaccessible fountain', a description which seems at odds with Theoderic, who says that the Templars' cistern was built in the fields. Either therefore the cistern was defended in some way, or there was also a well for use by the castle garrison situated inside the walls of the fortress.

The Church

A ruined church is shown on the P.E.F. map, 200 m. south-east of the castle, and is described as a chapel in the text (see above). This building was recognizable until 1939–1940, when the old Kibbutz dining hall was built, partially obscuring its site. Today, only a few blocks of chisel-dressed limestone ($0.32 \times 0.46 \times 0.96$ m; $? \times 0.53 \times 1$ m.; $0.48 \times 0.51 \times 0.91$ m.) and a pair of capitals are left of it. The building was oriented towards the east. According to D. Idlin, however, the entrance was also on the east; but this may perhaps have been a later arrangement. The architectural elements from the entrance include a Corinthian capital (Pl. 21:C) and another plain capital of conical shape with concave sides (Pl. 21:D). Pottery from the site includes a glazed cooking pot (tenth-thirteenth centuries) and a hand-made painted gourd-shaped pitcher and a lamp (twelfth-thirteenth centuries) (Fig. 4). A short distance north of this building, a cemetery of unmarked inhumation graves was accidentally uncovered by a bulldozer in 1961–1962.

If this building really was a church, it may possibly have been that of Syrian Christian inhabitants of the village of al-Fūla during the Middle Ages. The Templars' own chapel would almost certainly have been located inside the castle, as 'Imād al-Dīn implies.

Appendix: Descriptions of the Objects Illustrated in Figs. 3–4

Fig. 3:1. Masonry mark from the face of a stone block ($0.34 \times 0.58 \times 0.69$ m.) with diagonal tooling found on the southern slope of the castle mound. The same mark has been noted in the castles of Belmont and Belvoir and in the cathedral of Sabastiya; see D. Pringle: Some Approaches to the Study of Crusader Masonry Marks in Palestine, *Levant* 13 (1981), Fig. 4, type 21–22.

Fig. 3:2. Stone mortar (height 0.36 m.; diameter 0.52 m.), at present on the south-eastern side of the castle mound (Pl. 21:B). The tooling suggests a twelfth-century date.

Fig. 3:3. Part of the stone threshold of a doorway, now lying north-east of the castle mound. The positions of the pivot and bolt holes suggest that the doorway was a little under 2.4 m. wide and that the doors were 0.08 m. thick.

Fig. 4:1. Gourd-shaped pitcher of hand-made painted ware. Fabric pinkish-orange, very coarse, with grey, black and white grits. Yellowish-cream slip, smoothed on surface, with black painted design. Mid-twelfth century or later.

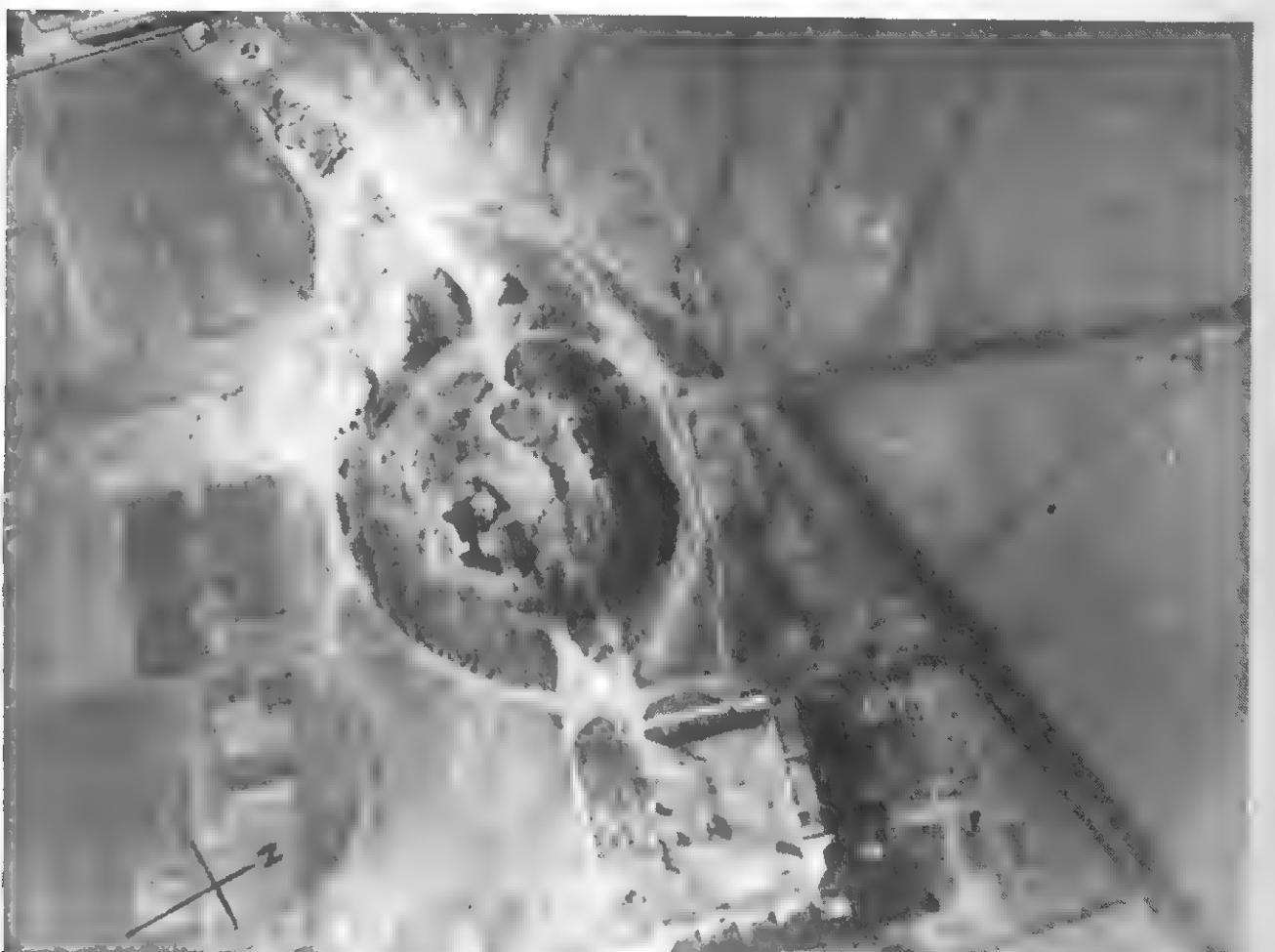
Fig. 4:2. Squashed globular-shaped cooking pot with sagging base and horizontal strap handles (height 19.1 cm.; max. diameter 26 cm.). Fabric dark reddish-brown, coarse, hard. Thinly potted. Dark brown glaze in base and splashed on shoulder. Tenth to thirteenth centuries; see D. Pringle: Medieval Pottery from Caesarea: The Crusader Period, *Levant* 17 (1985), pp. 171–202.

Fig. 4:3. Oval lamp, made in two-piece mould with rounded base and decorated upper surface (length 11 cm.; width 6.6 cm.; height 2.8 cm.). Fabric pinkish-brown, coarse, fairly hard. Twelfth to thirteenth centuries. Paralleled at St. Mary of Carmel; D. Pringle: Thirteenth-century Pottery from the Monastery of St. Mary of Carmel, *Levant* 16 (1984), p. 97, No. 9, Fig. 5; and at Burj el-Āḥmar; idem (above, n. 16), No. 34.

PLATE 20



A: Aerial photograph of 1918; below, the castle with the settlement of Merhavya to its east; above, the Arab village of 'Afula.



B: Detail of the photograph in Pl. 20:A, showing the castle (above) and the settlement of Merhavya (below).



A: Archway forming part of medieval castle.



B: Medieval mortar.



C: Corinthian-style limestone capital from 'church'.



D: Plain limestone capital from 'church'.

XII

A MELKITE PHYSICIAN IN FRANKISH JERUSALEM AND AYYUBID DAMASCUS: MUWAFFAQ AL-DĪN YA'QŪB B. SIQLĀB

ETAN KOHLBERG AND B.Z. KEDAR

In the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem, medicine was practiced by Frankish as well as by Oriental physicians. Immigration of physicians from Europe and the surrounding Muslim countries is attested by a Frankish law which regulates the licensing of foreign doctors coming *d'Outremer ou de Pâneime* (from Europe or from the Saracen realm).¹ Frankish recourse to Oriental physicians met, however, with considerable disapproval. William of Tyre, the great historian of the Crusading Kingdom, complained that Frankish rulers, influenced by their wives, scorned Latin medicine and put their trust only in Jews, Samaritans, Syrians and Saracens.² A decree of the Frankish church of Nicosia went beyond complaint and forbade Christians to employ the services of Jewish and Muslim physicians.³ The few references to relations between Frankish and Oriental physicians suggest antagonism and rivalry. Usāma b. Munqidh, the Syrian *amīr* who dwells in his autobiography on his variegated encounters with the Franks, speaks with a superior air about a Frankish doctor who sneers at the rational cures proposed by an Oriental Christian doctor and then briskly proceeds to kill

1 *Assises de la Cour des Bourgeois*, chap. 238, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Lois*, vol. 2, Paris 1843, p. 169. On the medical profession in the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem in general see Ernest Wickersheimer, 'Organisation et législation sanitaires au Royaume franc de Jérusalem (1099-1291)', *Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences* 4 (1951): 689-705; also, Ann F. Woodings, 'The Medical Resources and Practice of the Crusader States in Syria and Palestine, 1096-1193', *Medical History* 15 (1971): 268-277.

2 Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, 18, 34, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis* 63, Turnhout 1986, p. 859.

3 *Synodicum Nicosiense*, c. 14, in Mansi, *Concilia*, vol. 26, col. 314CD. Canon 14 is not dated, but since canon 21 mentions decrees issued in 1248, and canons 27-30, 32 date from 1253-1257, it is plausible to assume that most undated canons in the series were promulgated in the early 1250s. For a similar canon of the Council of Béziers, 1246, see *ibid.*, vol. 23, col. 702C.

his patients with unnecessary and crude surgical interventions. Usāma's story ties in with William of Tyre's account of the last illness of King Amalric of Jerusalem: here the king's Frankish and Oriental physicians are portrayed as two distinct groups, each consulted separately, with the Franks administering the fatal treatment which the Orientals had rejected.⁴

There is only one Oriental physician practicing under Frankish rule whose career has come to the attention of modern historians of the Crusading Kingdom. He is Abū Sulaymān Dāwūd, a native of Jerusalem who emigrated to Fātimid Egypt and achieved fame there for his knowledge of medicine and astrology. When, in the late 1160s, King Amalric asked his Egyptian allies for an outstanding physician, they first suggested Maimonides, who declined the offer, and then Abū Sulaymān, who accepted it. In Jerusalem, Abū Sulaymān treated Amalric's leprous son, the future Baldwin IV. He later became a monk and left his home and his four younger sons in the care of the eldest son, the physician Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd. Some time later Abū Sulaymān, by reading the stars, predicted the exact date on which Saladin would conquer Jerusalem. He sent his son Abū al-Khayr to the sultan with the news, and in return Saladin gave Abū al-Khayr a golden flag to be hoisted over the family house in Jerusalem. Thanks to the flag, the house and its occupants were spared during the Muslim conquest of the city. After the conquest Abū Sulaymān returned to Egypt at Saladin's invitation, and died there.⁵ The physician-astrologer Abū Sulaymān has so far been known only from Arabic sources, yet he may well be identical with the *regis Amalrici medicus* of a Latin text. This physician, whose name goes unmentioned, wrote an astrological treatise commemorating the exploits of his royal master who had come to the rescue of the beleaguered 'lord of the Egyptians' and had defeated Shirkūh, the general of Nūr al-Dīn.⁶

4 Usāma b. Munqidh, *Kitāb al-i'tibār*, ed. H. Derenbourg, Leiden-Paris 1884-86, pp. 97-98 = *An Arab Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades: Memoirs of Usāmah ibn-Munqidh*, trans. Philip K. Hitti, New York 1929, p. 162 = *Des enseignements de la vie: Souvenirs d'un gentilhomme syrien du temps des Croisades*, trans. André Miquel, Paris 1983, pp. 291-293; Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, 20, 31, p. 957.

5 This summary of Abū Sulaymān's career is based on Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, 'Uyūn al-anbā', ed. August Müller, Cairo-Königsberg 1882-84, vol. 2, pp. 121-123 [= pp. 587-589 in the Beirut 1965 edition by Nizār Ridā]; B.R. Sanguinetti, 'Notices biographiques de quelques médecins, tirées d'un ouvrage arabe d'Assafady,' *Journal asiatique* 5.9 (1857): 401-404; Claude Cahen, 'Indigènes et Croisés. Quelques mots à propos d'un médecin d'Amaury et de Saladin,' *Syria* 15 (1934): 351-360, reprinted in his *Turcobyzantina et Oriens Christianus*, London 1974, Part F; Bernard Lewis, 'Maimonides, Lionheart, and Saladin,' *Eretz-Israel*, vol. 7, Jerusalem 1964, pp. 70-75.

6 For the most recent edition of the text see Ch.S.F. Burnett, 'What is the *Experimentarius* of

The case of Abū Sulaymān is cited by Claude Cahen as evidence for the indifference with which much of the indigenous population treated their rulers, be they Franks or Muslims.⁷ It does not, however, shed light on the relations between Oriental and Frankish physicians, and does not clarify whether an indigenous physician could receive his training in the Crusading Kingdom. Information pertinent to these issues is contained in the biography of another Oriental Christian physician, Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ya‘qūb b. Siqlāb, who practiced in Jerusalem in the closing years of the first Crusading Kingdom. His biography can be pieced together from accounts in the *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’* by the Egyptian author and official Ibn al-Qiftī and the ‘Uyūn al-anbā’ by the physician and bibliographer Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a. Ibn al-Qiftī, who came to reconquered Jerusalem as a youth in 583/1187 and spent several years there, probably wrote his book in the 1230s. The work has not survived, but an abridgment completed by Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Khaṭībī al-Zawzanī in 647/1249, a year after Ibn al-Qiftī’s death, is extant. Ibn al-Qiftī’s work, or its abridgment, was used by Bar-Hebraeus, the Jacobite Syrian bishop and philosopher (d. 685/1286), in his *Mukhtaṣar ta’rīkh al-duwal*. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a (d. 668/1270) is known to have utilized Ibn al-Qiftī’s lost book, but his account about Ya‘qūb b. Siqlāb, under whom he studied, does not appear to be based on Ibn al-Qiftī.⁸ The following attempt at reconstructing Ya‘qūb’s career is based on the relevant passages in the abridged version of Ibn al-Qiftī and in the work of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a. Translations of the relevant passages appear in the Appendices.

Bernardus Silvestris? A Preliminary Survey of the Material,’ *Archives d’histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen-Age* 44 (1977): 117; see also p. 93 for references to some earlier studies.

7 Cahen, ‘Indigènes,’ pp. 355-356, 359.

8 On Ibn al-Qiftī’s biography and the relationship of his work to those of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a and Bar-Hebraeus see Julius Lippert’s introduction to his edition of Ibn al-Qiftī’s *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, Leipzig 1903, pp. 5-11, 16-17; ‘Alī al-Khaṭīb, *al-Qiftī: ḥayātuhu wa adabuhu*, Cairo 1983, particularly pp. 113-119. On Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a’s studies under Ya‘qūb see Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a, vol. 2, p. 214 [= p. 698]. For earlier attempts at reconstructing Ya‘qūb’s career see Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der arabischen Aerzte und Naturforscher*, Göttingen 1840, pp. 122-123; Lucien Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, vol. 2, Paris 1876, pp. 169-171; Ahmad ‘Isā, *Mu’jam al-ātibbā’*, Cairo 1361/1942, pp. 520-521. ‘Isā cites also the *Wāṣīt bi ’l-wafayāt* by Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363), but without specifying on which source he is relying for each item of information. Al-Ṣafadī’s immense biographical work has been coming out at irregular intervals (*Bibliotheca Islamica*, Leipzig etc., 1931 ff.). The volume containing Ya‘qūb’s biography (apparently no. 28; cf. H. Ritter, ‘Über einige Werke des Ṣalāḥaddīn Halīl b. Aibak as-Ṣafadī in Stambuler Bibliotheken,’ *Rivista degli studi orientali* 12 [1929-30]: 79-88) has not yet been published. ‘Isā does not say which MSS he consulted.

Ya'qūb b. Siqlāb⁹ was born in Jerusalem, probably in the 1160s.¹⁰ According to the abridgment of Ibn al-Qiftī's work, he was a Melkite¹¹ and belonged to a group of so-called 'Easterners' who hailed from the Balqā' and 'Ammān regions of Transjordan and were named after the quarter in the east of Jerusalem in which they settled, known as *mahallat al-mashāriqa*.¹² On this point Ibn al-Qiftī corroborates William of Tyre, who relates that King Baldwin I decided in about 1115 to enlarge Jerusalem's sparse population by organizing a migration of Syrian Christian peasants from Transjordan. Ibn al-Qiftī's statement also supports Joshua Prawer's assumption that these immigrants settled in the former Jewish quarter in the northeastern part of Jerusalem.¹³ The one moot point is whether all the Syrian immigrants mentioned by William of Tyre were indeed Melkites (i.e., adherents of the Greek rite) like Ya'qūb b. Siqlāb, or whether some of them were Jacobites.¹⁴

Ibn al-Qiftī relates that Ya'qūb studied philosophy and medicine in Jerusalem with a man known as 'the Antioch philosopher,' who had excelled in Antioch in some of the 'sciences of the ancients.'¹⁵ This man settled in Jerusalem, turned his home into a church, and devoted himself there to worship and teaching until

9 Or Ṣaqlān. The form Siqlāb is given in the printed editions of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, vol. 2, pp. 177, 214, 216 [= pp. 654, 697, 699]. 'Ṣaqlān' appears in Ibn al-Qiftī, p. 378 [= p. 248 in the Cairo 1326/1908 edition by Muḥammad Amīn al-Khānjī al-Kutubī], in the printed versions of Bar-Hebraeus (Ibn al-'Ibrī), *Mukhtaṣar ta'rīkh al-duwal* (ed. E. Pococke, Oxford 1663, p. 483 = p. 443 in Beirut 1890 edition of E. Ṣāliḥānī), and also (*apud* L. Leclerc, *Histoire*, vol. 2, p. 169) in some MSS of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a's book. 'Siqlāb' appears to be a more common name (as in Siqlāb b. Shayba, a Qur'ān specialist who died in 191/806-807, see Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya fī ḥabaqāt al-qurrā'*, ed. G. Bergsträsser, Cairo 1932-33, vol. 1, p. 308); but no conclusion can be drawn from this as to the correct form of the father's name.

10 E. Rey, *Les colonies franques en Syrie aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, Paris 1883, p. 181, gives Ya'qūb's birthdate as 1161 [=556-557 A.H.]. However, as noted by Ḥabīb Zayyāt ('al-Malakiyyūn al-mashāriqa,' *al-Mashriq* 32 [1934]: 273-281, at 276), it is not clear where this date is taken from. A further unsubstantiated statement by Rey is that Ya'qūb became Saladin's physician.

11 Ibn al-Qiftī, p. 378; Bar-Hebraeus, p. 483 [= p. 443].

12 See Appendix A.

13 Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, 11, 27, pp. 535-536; Joshua Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, Oxford 1980, pp. 92-93.

14 On the confusion in Frankish sources between Syrians following the Greek rite and Jacobites see Joshua Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. European Colonialism in the Middle Ages*, London 1972, p. 225.

15 'Ulūm al-awā'il, i.e., Greek philosophy or science. The term does not refer to the Islamic *awā'il* literature (on which see the article by F. Rosenthal in *EF*, vol. 1, pp. 758-759), *pace* Moritz Steinschneider, 'Euklid bei den Arabern. Eine bibliographische Studie,' *Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik* 31 (1886), *historisch-literarische Abteilung*, p. 107, n. 29.

about (or according to another version: in about) the year 580/1184-85.¹⁶ Bar-Hebraeus identifies Ibn al-Qiftī's anonymous philosopher with Theodore of Antioch, the Jacobite who was to join Emperor Frederick II's entourage and who died in Italy sometime before November 1250.¹⁷ This identification is, however, problematic, for if Theodore were a teacher of renown already in 1184, this would make him exceptionally old at the time of his death. Moreover, in the quite detailed account of Theodore's life elsewhere in his book, Bar-Hebraeus does not mention that he ever stayed in Jerusalem. Arguably the most convincing proof against this identification is to be found in the Persian translation of Ibn al-Qiftī's work, which was made in 1099/1688 at the behest of the Safavid Shah Sulaymān (r. 1077/1666–1105/1694). In the published version of this translation, the Antioch philosopher is said to have remained in Jerusalem 'until his death in about 580 [1184-85].'¹⁸

Whatever the identity of the Antioch philosopher, Ibn al-Qiftī does not credit him with having imparted much medical knowledge to Ya'qūb: he portrays the latter as a competent practitioner but not possessed of much learning.¹⁹ An entirely different picture emerges from the work of Ya'qūb's pupil, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, who asserts that Ya'qūb was the most knowledgeable of his generation in the works of Galen, possessed several of them in the original Greek, and translated some Greek works into Arabic. He also relates that Ya'qūb befriended in Jerusalem an ascetic philosopher of the Sīq monastery who was knowledgeable in natural science, geometry, arithmetics and astrology and that he met there the Christian physician Shaykh Abū Mansūr with whom he practiced medicine.²⁰ Despite the discrepancies between the two accounts, both

16 See Appendix A. While the printed Arabic editions of Ibn al-Qiftī have *ilā ḥudūd*, 'until about,' Steinschneider (art. cit., p. 107), basing himself on MS Berlin 493 fol. 151, reads *fī ḥudūd*, 'in about.'

17 Bar-Hebraeus, p. 483 [= 443]. On Theodore see Thomas C. van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen*, Oxford 1972, pp. 305, 310-312; for documentary evidence for his death before November 1250 see Fedor Schneider, 'Neue Dokumente vornehmlich aus Süditalien,' *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 16 (1914): 51.

18 Bar-Hebraeus, pp. 521-522 [= pp. 477-478]; *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'-ye Qiftī*, ed. Bahīn Dārā'ī, Tehran 1347 Sh/1968, p. 511. Dārā'ī's edition is based on three Persian manuscripts which were compared with the two Arabic editions of the text. A hypothetical reconstruction of the Arabic seen by the Persian translator would be: *ilā an tuwuffiya fī ḥudūd* (etc.). This would account for the variants *ilā ḥudūd/fī ḥudūd*: in both, *an tuwuffiya* and a preposition were omitted.

19 Appendix A.

20 Appendix B. For the term *sīq* see Appendix C.

indicate that an education in medicine and other subjects could be acquired in Jerusalem in the decade preceding the Battle of Hattin.

Another striking fact which emerges from Ya'qub's biography is that in Jerusalem this Oriental Christian adopted the dress of the Frankish physicians. Ibn Abi Usaybi'a maintains that Ya'qub arrived in Damascus as a young man after Saladin's conquest of Karak — an event usually dated to 584/late 1187 or early 1188.²¹ Ya'qub's guide and mentor in the Syrian capital was Muwaffaq al-Din Ibn al-Mu'trān, a converted Christian and renowned court physician (d. Rabī' I 587/ March-April 1191).²² The account of what was presumably the first encounter between the two is given on the authority of the Christian scribe Shaykh Muwaffaq al-Din b. al-Burī. He recounts that Ya'qub came to the meeting wearing a head-shawl (*kūfiyya*), a small turban (*takhfīfa*), and a collared blue upper coat (*malūṭa*), described as the garb of the Frankish physicians. Ibn al-Mu'trān gave his young colleague some practical advice: such clothes, he told him, would not advance his medical career among the Muslims. He should therefore discard them and dress as was customary among Damascene physicians. Whereupon Ibn al-Mu'trān sent for a full-sleeved silk robe (*jubba*) and a *baqyār* turban and ordered Ya'qub to wear them.²³ Now properly dressed, Ya'qub was charged by Ibn al-Mu'trān with personally attending one of the most powerful men in the land, Fāris al-Din Maymūn al-Qaṣrī, lord of Sidon and Nablus (d. Ramaḍān 610/January-February 1214).²⁴

The Muslim aversion to Frankish garb is paralleled by the Frankish reluctance to wear typically Muslim dress. Ibn al-Athīr relates that when, in

21 Appendix B. For the date of the conquest of Karak see 'Imād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī (519/1125-597/1201), *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Saladin (al-Fātḥ al-quṣṣī fī l-fātḥ al-quṣṣī)*, ed. Carlo de Landberg, vol. 1, Leiden 1888, pp. 115-117, 161-162, French translation by Henri Massé, Paris 1972, pp. 104-107, 148-149; Joshua Prawer, *Histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem*, vol. 2, Paris 1970, p. 77, n. 5; Hamilton A.R. Gibb, *The Life of Saladin*, Oxford 1973, pp. 52, 56 n. 1; Malcolm C. Lyons and D.E.P. Jackson, *Saladin: The Politics of the Holy War*, Cambridge 1982, p. 291.

22 For Ibn al-Mu'trān see Ibn Abi Usaybi'a, vol. 2, pp. 175-181 [= pp. 651-659]; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi bi l-wafayāt*, vol. 9, ed. J. van Ess, Wiesbaden 1394/1974, pp. 40-43 and the references given there; M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Handbuch der Orientalistik, Erste Abteilung, Ergänzungsband VI/1, Leiden-Cologne 1970, pp. 165-166.

23 Ibn Abi Usaybi'a, vol. 2, p. 177 [=p. 654], whence E. Ashtor, 'Les lainages dans l'Orient médiéval: emploi, production, commerce,' in *Atti della Seconda Settimana di Studio (10-16 aprile 1970) dell'Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica 'F. Datini'*, Prato, Florence 1976, p. 663. For some of the technical terms occurring in this passage see L.A. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, Geneva 1952, pp. 24-25, 50, 55.

24 Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-kurūb*, ed. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, vol. 3, Cairo c. 1960, pp. 15, 220; R. Stephen Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, Albany 1977, p. 78.

588/1192, Henry of Champagne asked Saladin to bestow a robe of honor on him, he pointed out that the wearing of the Oriental *qabā'* and *sharbūsh* was considered a disgrace among the Franks but that he, Henry, would wear them nonetheless, as a mark of respect for the sultan.²⁵

Indigenous Muslim inhabitants of the Crusading Kingdom did, however, begin wearing Frankish dress some time after the crusader conquest, and therefore the Council of Nablus of 1120 saw fit to decree that a Muslim caught wearing such dress would be put at the king's mercy.²⁶ Still, an Oriental Christian physician like Ya'qūb could evidently wear the garb of the Frankish doctors with impunity. Indeed it may not be too far-fetched to assume that the wearing of such garb was common to all physicians, just as all physicians arriving in the Crusading Kingdom, whether Franks from Europe or Orientals from Muslim countries, were examined by the same board consisting of the best local physicians, and all received their license from the local Latin bishop who was present at all examinations.²⁷ In any case, Ya'qūb's appearance — in Ayyubid Damascus! — in the garb of the Frankish physicians suggests that, in the final years of the first Crusading Kingdom if not earlier, at least some Oriental and Frankish physicians were closer to each other than would have been surmised on the basis of the descriptions by Usāma b. Munqidh or William of Tyre.

The details given by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a on Ya'qūb's transfer from Jerusalem to Damascus conflict with the information provided by Ibn al-Qiftī (who is followed by Bar-Hebraeus). According to this information Ya'qūb was transferred to Damascus by order of the Ayyubid al-Mu'azzam 'Isā, who was made ruler of Damascus in 594/1198 and became the effective governor of Jerusalem in about 601/1204-05.²⁸ He is said to have wished to keep Ya'qūb at his side as he was impressed with his medical competence. Until his transfer, Ya'qūb worked in a Jerusalem hospital, apparently the one established by Saladin.²⁹ There is no easy way to reconcile the two reports. The story about Ibn

25 Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī l-ta'rīkh*, vol. 12, Beirut 1386/1966, p. 79 = *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Orientaux*, vol. 2/A, Paris 1887, p. 59; see also R. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements*, Amsterdam 1845, pp. 220-224, 352-362; Francesco Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, trans. E.J. Costello, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969, p. 242, for explanations of the Arabic terms. Cf. Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, p. 520.

26 *Concilium Neapolitanum*, c. 16, in Mansi, *Concilia*, vol. 21, col. 264D; cf. Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, p. 519.

27 See note 1 above.

28 For al-Mu'azzam's career see R. Stephen Humphreys, pp. 125-192.

29 Ibn al-Qiftī, p. 379 [= p. 248]; Bar-Hebraeus, p. 484 [= p. 443]. Ahmad 'Isā, *Ta'rīkh al-*

al-Muṭrān rings true; moreover, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a met Ya'qūb and studied under him, and so he may have heard the details about the journey from Ya'qūb himself. On the other hand, Ibn al-Qiftī lived in Jerusalem, albeit as a youth, during some of the period in question.³⁰ One may therefore speculate that Ya'qūb returned to his native Jerusalem sometime in the 1190s, only to be sent back to Damascus by al-Mu'azzam.

Once at the Ayyubid court, Ya'qūb enjoyed a privileged position, his career constituting further proof that conversion to Islam was no prerequisite for success.³¹ Throughout his reign al-Mu'azzam held Ya'qūb in high esteem and at one point even intended to appoint him to a government post, but Ya'qūb declined and continued to apply himself to the practice of medicine.³² At the Sultan's court he held discussions on medical issues with a fellow Galen specialist, Muhadhdhab al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahīm b. 'Alī al-Dakhwār (d. 15 Ṣafar 628/23 December 1230), who was Ibn al-Muṭrān's best-known student and doyen of the physicians (*ra'īs al-āṭibbā'*) of his day.³³ When, in later years, Ya'qūb suffered from painful attacks of gout, al-Mu'azzam had him brought on a stretcher whenever he required medical attention.³⁴

Ya'qūb died in Damascus in Rabī II 625/Easter 1228.³⁵ He was survived by a son, Sadīd al-Dīn Abū Maṇṣūr, the only member of his family whose name has come down to us. Like his father, Sadīd al-Dīn was a physician, and served al-Mu'azzam's son Dāwūd.³⁶

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bīmāristānāt fī'l-islām, Damascus 1357/1939, p. 231 = *Histoire des bimaristans (hôpitaux) à l'époque islamique*, Cairo 1928, p. 201.

- 30 On Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a's studies see note 8 above; on Ibn al-Qiftī's stay in Jerusalem see Lippert's introduction to the *Ta'rikh al-hukamā'*, pp. 6-7.
- 31 For another contemporary example see A.L. Motzkin, 'A Thirteenth-Century Jewish Physician in Jerusalem (A Geniza Portrait)', *Muslim World* 60 (1970): 344-349; S.D. Goitein, 'Parents and Children — A Geniza Study on the Medieval Jewish Family', *Gratz College Annual of Jewish Studies* 4 (1975): 58-61.
- 32 Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, vol. 2, p. 215 [= pp. 698-699]; Aḥmad 'Isā, *Mu'jam al-āṭibbā'*, p. 521 (from al-Ṣafadī?).
- 33 Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, vol. 2, p. 215 [= p. 698]. For al-Dakhwār see Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, vol. 2, pp. 239-246 [= pp. 728-736]; *GAL*, I², p. 647.
- 34 Ibn al-Qiftī, p. 379 [= p. 248]; Bar-Hebraeus, p. 484 [= pp. 443-444]. According to Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (vol. 2, p. 215 = p. 699), al-Mu'azzam ordered that Ya'qūb (carried on a stretcher) accompany him on all his travels.
- 35 Date according to Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, vol. 2, p. 216 [= p. 699]. Ibn al-Qiftī (p. 379 = p. 248) is less precise, saying only that it occurred c. 626/1228-9, not long after the death of al-Mu'azzam.
- 36 Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, vol. 2, p. 216 [= p. 699].

APPENDIX A

Ibn al-Qiftī, pp. 378-379 [=p. 248, ed. Khānjī]. Passages in square brackets are only found in the Persian translation [ed. Darā'ī, pp. 511-512]:

Ya‘qūb b. Ṣaqlān, the Jerusalemite ‘Eastern’ (*mashriqī*) Melkite Christian. He was born in Jerusalem, where he studied some philosophy and medicine with a man known as the Antioch philosopher [p.379] who lived in Jerusalem. This philosopher excelled in some of the sciences of the ancients in Antioch and elsewhere. He settled in Jerusalem, turned his home into the form of a church, devoted himself to worship and taught (various branches of) knowledge until [his death in] about 580 A.H. Ya‘qūb studied with him some of the basics of this craft. The eastern Christians in Jerusalem originate in the *Balqā'* and ‘Ammān region. They are known as Easterners because they are from east Jerusalem. When some of them settled in Jerusalem they did so in a quarter in east Jerusalem which is known as the Quarter of the Easterners. Ya‘qūb remained in Jerusalem and continued to work in the hospital until the city came under the reign of al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam ‘Īsā, son of al-Malik al-‘Ādil Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Ayyūb. Then Ya‘qūb became attached exclusively to him. He was not very learned [in the science of medicine], but was rather a good practitioner as a result of his hospital experience and because of his felicitous personal qualities. Then al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam transferred him to Damascus. Ya‘qūb settled in Damascus, was highly regarded by al-Mu‘azzam, and his possessions grew. He was afflicted by gout and pain of the joints which made him unable to move. It was said that al-Mu‘azzam had him brought on a stretcher carried by men whenever he required medical attention for his illness(es). Ya‘qūb continued in this state until his patron al-Mu‘azzam died. Ya‘qūb died in Damascus shortly after him, in about 626 A.H.

Bar-Hebraeus, pp. 483-484 [=pp. 443-444 ed. Ṣāliḥānī]:

In the year 626 A.H. there died Ya‘qūb b. Ṣaqlān, the Jerusalemite Melkite Christian physician. He was born in Jerusalem, where he studied some philosophy with Theodore (Thādhūrī), the Antioch philosopher who will be mentioned later. Ya‘qūb remained [p. 484] in Jerusalem and continued to work in the hospital [cont. as in Ibn al-Qiftī]... until his patron al-Mu‘azzam died. Ya‘qūb died shortly after him.

APPENDIX B

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a, vol. 2, pp. 214-216 [=pp. 697-699, ed. Ridā]:

Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ya‘qūb b. Siqlāb, a Christian who was the best informed and most knowledgeable of his generation in the works of Galen. He applied himself to the practice of medicine and the study of Galen’s works, possessed excellent innate qualities and high intelligence, and knew by heart all of Galen’s books and sayings. He would quote Galen whenever he spoke about any of the diverse branches of medicine. When asked about complex or other medical matters he would always reply: ‘Galen said’ and cite the relevant Galen text, something for which he was admired. On occasion he would mention a particular saying of Galen and add: ‘This is what Galen says on page so-and-so of chapter so-and-so in his book,’ and would then identify the book in question; the page would refer to the copy in his possession. He was able to do this thanks to his great familiarity with that particular copy. I can testify to his abilities from personal experience: When I began practicing medicine I used to study with him some sayings of Hippocrates; I committed them to memory and asked for an explication of their meaning. This took place in al-Mu‘azzam’s camp; at that time my father too was in the service of al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam. No one could match his explanations and exhaustive treatment of the subject-matter, which were presented in an elegant and concise language. [p. 215] He then recapitulated the main points, so that every saying of Hippocrates received the best possible explanation. Then he cited in full Galen’s commentary only to discover that Ya‘qūb had quoted all of it verbatim. He would sometimes quote by heart entire passages from Galen without adding or omitting a thing. He was the only one of his generation who could accomplish this. When he lived in Damascus he used to get together with Shaykh Muhadhdhab al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Rahīm b. ‘Alī at the meeting place of the physicians near the sultan’s palace to discuss medical topics. Shaykh Muhadhdhab al-Dīn was more eloquent, brilliant and learned, while Ya‘qūb was more authoritative, lucid and widely-read; for he was as an interpreter who reproduces everything which Galen said about medicine in his books.

Ya‘qūb was an excellent and successful medical practitioner; he would first make a thorough study of the disease and would then commence treatment in accordance with the rules mentioned by Galen, while also

making use of his own experience. He carefully studied the symptoms of a disease. Whenever he visited a patient he enquired about every single symptom and complaint, and considered every symptom which might point to the nature of the disease. His treatment was therefore unsurpassable. Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam appreciated this quality in him and used to say: 'Ya'qūb the physician makes thorough investigations until he has no doubts as to the nature of the disease and can provide the right treatment. Even if this had been Ya'qūb's sole merit I would have been content.' Ya'qūb was also proficient in Greek and in translating from it into Arabic. He possessed several of Galen's books in Greek, such as *Hilat al-bur'* [The Method of Cure, see *GAS*, III, pp. 96-98] and *al-'Ilal wa' l-a'rād* [Causes and Symptoms, see *GAS*, III, pp. 89-90], which he read and studied.

He was born in Jerusalem and lived there for many years. He attached himself there to a noble ascetic philosopher of the Sīq monastery who was knowledgeable in natural science, geometry, arithmetics and astrology, and made correct astrological predictions. Ya'qūb told me much about his knowledge of philosophy and his intelligence. Ya'qūb also met in Jerusalem with the Christian physician Shaykh Abū Mansūr; he practiced medicine with him and benefited from him.

Ya'qūb the physician was one of the most intelligent, perspicacious and authoritative of men. When he served and accompanied al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Isā b. Abī Bakr b. Ayyūb, al-Mu'azzam had a high opinion of him, relied on him and benefited from his advice on medical and other matters. He intended to appoint him to a government position, but Ya'qūb declined and limited himself to the practice of medicine. Ya'qūb was afflicted with gout in his legs which sometimes caused him great pain and rendered movement difficult. Al-Malik al-Mu'azzam took him along on his travels carried on a stretcher, enquired after him and bestowed great honors on him. He paid him a handsome salary and was very generous toward him. He once asked him: 'You, who are a physician, why don't you treat the disease in your legs?' Ya'qūb answered: 'My lord, when wood becomes worm-eaten no method will cure it.' [p. 216] Until al-Mu'azzam's death Ya'qūb continued serving him. Al-Mu'azzam died in Damascus on the third hour of Friday, the last day of Dhū l-Qa'da 624 A.H., and was succeeded by his son al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd. Ya'qūb came to him, blessed him, reminded him of his old friendship and past services and mentioned that he was now old, senile and weak. He then recited the

following verses by Ibn Munqidh [i.e. Usāma b. Munqidh, d. 584/1188]:

I came to you when the robes of youth were new
 So how can I leave you when they are worn?
 I deserve the respect due to the guest and the old neighbor and to him
 Who came to you when the elders of the tribe were but children.

Al-Malik al-Nāṣir was very kind to him, gave him money and clothes, ordered that everything which had been decreed by al-Malik al-Mu'azzam should continue, and that he should not be obliged to serve. Ya'qūb remained thus for a short while, and then died in Damascus on the Christian Easter, Rabī' II 625 A.H.

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, vol. 2, p. 177 [=p. 654]:

Shaykh Muwaffaq al-Dīn b. al-Būrī, the Christian *kātib*, informed me as follows: After Saladin had conquered Karak there arrived in Damascus the Christian physician Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ya'qūb b. Siqlāb, who was a young man at the time. He wore a head-shawl (*kūfiyya*), a small turban (*takhfīfa*) and a blue *malūṭa* gown (*jūkha*), which is the garb of the Frankish physicians. He went to the physician Muwaffaq al-Dīn b. al-Muṭrān and started serving him and visiting him in the hope that this might prove useful to him. Ibn al-Muṭrān said to him: 'These clothes which you are wearing will not be of use to you in the practice of medicine in this country among the Muslims. It is in your interest to change your clothes and dress as is customary among the physicians in our country.' He then sent for a full-sleeved silk robe (*jubba*) and a complementary *baqyār* turban and ordered him to wear them. Then he said to him: 'There is an important *amīr* here called Maymūn al-Qaṣrī, who is ill, and whom I visit and treat; come with me so that you can treat him yourself.' Ya'qūb went with him, and Ibn al-Muṭrān told the *amīr*: 'This is a fine physician and a practitioner on whom I rely; he will attend you at all times and stay with you until you are well, God willing.' The *amīr* agreed to this, and Ya'qūb the physician stayed with him day and night until he was cured. Maymūn gave him 500 dinars, which he took and brought to Ibn al-Muṭrān. He said to him: 'Sir, this is what he gave me, and I have brought it to you.' Ibn al-Muṭrān answered: 'Take it, for I only wished to be of use to you.' Ya'qūb took the money and blessed him.

APPENDIX C

The word *sīq*, apparently an arabicized form of the Greek *seikos* (laura),³⁷ refers to one of two systems of monastic settlement prevalent in Palestine.³⁸ Mār Sābā is a famous early example of the *sīq* type,³⁹ so Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a might conceivably have been referring to it. The trouble is that in the period under consideration Mār Sābā does not seem to have gone under the name of Dayr al-Sīq. Such an appellation is, however, given by the author and traveler Ibn Fadl Allāh al-‘Umarī (700/1301–749/1349) to a monastery in the Judaean desert which he visited. Al-‘Umarī describes it as perched high over Jericho and the verdant Jordan valley, with a road passing both above and below it leading to the Red Sand-Dune (*al-kathīb al-ahmar*) and Moses' tomb.⁴⁰ Supplementary information is provided by the *qādī* Mujīr al-Dīn al-Hanbalī (d. 927/1521) in his *History of Jerusalem and Hebron*: he describes the Dayr al-Sīq as located at a distance of half a *barīd* (six or eight miles) from Jerusalem. When Baybars visited the monastery (in Muḥarram 668/September 1269) he was told that it was inhabited by some 300 monks; he then ordered the destruction of their cells for

37 R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, Oxford 1879-1901, col. 4103; M.J. de Goeje, 'Sīq,' *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 54 (1900): 336-338; Georg Graf, *Verzeichnis arabischer kirchlicher Termini*, 2nd ed., Louvain 1954, p. 64 (ref. by Dr. Simon Hopkins). For a different suggestion as to the provenance and meaning of *sīq* see Zeev Vilnay, *Judea and Samaria*, Tel Aviv 1968, p. 233 [Hebrew]; Meron Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, Jerusalem 1970, p. 365.

38 O. Meinardus, 'Notes on the Laurae and Monasteries of the Wilderness of Judaea,' *Liber Annus* 15 (1964-5): 220-250; 16 (1965-6): 328-356; 19 (1969): 305-327 (ref. by Mr. Yizhar Hirschfeld).

39 Payne Smith; de Goeje; Graf. See also Kyrillos von Skythopolis, *Leben des Sabas*, ed. E. Schwarz, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 49/2, Leipzig 1939, p. 123; French translation by A.-J. Festugière, *Les moines d'Orient* 3/2, Paris 1962, p. 49 (ref. by Dr. Guy Stroumsa). See also Franz Cöln, 'Die anonyme Schrift "Abhandlung über den Glauben der Syrer,"' *Oriens Christianus* 4 (1904): 92, note. Eutychius (Sa‘īd b. Bīrīq, 877-940) refers in his *Kitāb al-ta’rīkh*, ed. Cheikho, vol. 1, Beirut 1906, p. 193 to the existence in the late fifth century of several *asyāq* (pl. of *sīq*), and reports that the heads of these monasteries formed part of a delegation sent to Anastasius I (r. 491-518) in Constantinople. For further details consult Peter Charanis, *Church and State in the Later Roman Empire: The Religious Policy of Anastasius I*, Madison 1939, pp. 32-35, 69-72.

40 Al-‘Umarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amsār*, ed. Ahmad Zakī Bāshā, vol. 1, Cairo 1342/1924, pp. 340-341. Moses' alleged tomb, with the cupola erected over it by Baybars, lies south of the present-day Jericho-Jerusalem road. The location of *al-kathīb al-ahmar* is less certain (see 'Amīqam El'ad, 'Some Aspects of the Islamic Traditions Regarding the Site of the Grave of Moses,' forthcoming in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 11 [1988]. Dr. El'ad has kindly put the typescript of his article at our disposal.)

fear that these might be used as a base for a Frankish offensive against Jerusalem.⁴¹ Al-‘Umarī could still see the ruins of these cells; at the same time he reports that the monastery was (re)inhabited by ‘pleasant and intelligent’ monks.⁴² The information provided by al-‘Umarī and Mujīr al-Dīn is incomplete, so that despite the temptation to identify the Dayr al-Sīq in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a’s account with one particular monastery or another, its location remains to be established.

41 Mujīr al-Dīn, *al-‘Uṣūl al-jalīl bi ta’rīkh al-Quds wa’l-Khalīl*, vol. 2, Beirut 1973, p. 87, trans. Henry Sauvaire, *Histoire de Jérusalem et d’Hébron*, Paris 1876, p. 238. Most historians of Baybars’ reign fail to mention his stopover at Dayr al-Sīq, noting only that he visited Damascus and Jerusalem in the wake of his pilgrimage to Mecca at the end of 667/ Aug. 1269. See, e.g., al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl mir’āt al-zamān*, vol. 2, Hyderabad 1375/1955, pp. 409-410; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, vol. 1/B, Cairo 1936, p. 583.

42 Al-‘Umarī (see n. 40).

XIII

DE Iudeis et Sarracenis On the categorization of Muslims in medieval canon law

The routine treatment of Muslims and Jews under the same canonistic heading began some time between 1188 and 1192, when Bernard of Pavia published his *Breviarium Extravagantium*, the collection of decretals known as *compilatio prima* that served as a model for subsequent collections of this kind. In the fifth book of Bernard's *Breviarium* there appears the title *De Iudeis et Sarracenis et eorum servis*,¹ and this title recurs in later collection of decretals, including the *Liber Extra* promulgated by Gregory IX, and in the vast number of commentaries on them. Thus from the 1190s on, *De Iudeis et Sarracenis* became a stock item in canon law literature.

How did Bernard come to formulate his title? The answer is simple and leads to a tempting conjecture. Bernard must have phrased his heading in reference to canon 26 of the Third Lateran Council, a canon dealing with Jews, Saracens, and their Christian *mancipia* that Bernard incorporated into his collection under the heading in question. As Bernard adduced no other text dealing with this specific issue, the link between the canon of 1179 and the title in the *Breviarium*, compiled about a dozen years later, may be deemed proven.

As for the conjecture, it is well known that William of Tyre relates in his chronicle that at the behest of the participants of the Third Lateran Council he drew up the acts of that assembly. William's account is lost, but it is plausible to assume that the extant canons of the Third Lateran Council were derived from it.² Now, William stands out among twelfth-century chroniclers of the

¹ *I Comp.* 5.5.5 in *Quinque compilationes antiquae*, ed. E. FRIEDBERG (Leipzig, 1882), p. 55.

² GUILLAUME DE TYR, *Chronique*, 21, 25, ed. R.B.C. HUYGENS, *Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis* 63 (Turnhout, 1986), p. 998; S. KUTTNER, «Concerning the Canons of the Third Lateran Council», *Traditio* 13 (1957), 505-506; R.C. SCHWINGES, *Kreuzzugsideologie und Toleranz. Studien zu Wilhelm von Tyrus*, *Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters* 15 (Stuttgart, 1977), p. 42.

crusades for his consistent avoidance of the term *pagani* in his manifold references to the Muslims. For William, Islam was a monotheistic religion, its adherents infidels not pagans.³ It is tempting therefore to assume that the consistent reference to Muslims, in the canons of the Third Lateran council, as Saracens and never as pagans, and the coupling of the Saracens, in canon 26, with those other infidels, the Jews, may be traced to William of Tyre's redaction of the acts of that council.

But does the heading *De Iudeis et Sarracenis* imply that the canonists regarded Jews and Muslims as groups of a similar order, distinct from paganism? Do we have here a mirror image of the Muslim view of Jews and Christians as People of the Book, *ahl al-kitāb*, both notably superior to paganism? Is there an affinity between Bernard of Pavia's heading and the way a more famous contemporary, Maimonides, treated «Yeshu'a the Nazarene, and that Ishmaelite who arose after him» as men who inadvertently paved the road for the Messiah?⁴

In the Latin West, Saracens were mentioned alongside Jews from Carolingian times onward. When, in 799, Charlemagne asked Alcuin for «the disputation of Felix with a Saracen» – a request that incidentally attests to Charlemagne's interest in Christian polemics with Islam – Alcuin answered that he had neither seen nor heard of that disputation, adding that he had heard a disputation with a Jew when he passed through Pavia in his youth. Evidently Alcuin considered the religion of the Saracens a challenge somehow comparable to that of Judaism. A few decades later Bishop Prudentius of Troyes mentioned in one breath *Iudeorum insaniam Saracenorumque dementiam*, similarly implying that the two creeds were on the same order, or rather disorder.⁵ This perception assumed far more explicit forms in the central and later Middle Ages. Already in about 1136, William of Malmesbury mentioned in one breath not only Saracens and Jews but also Christians, when he characterized all three as *secte* differing with regard to the Son but all worshiping God the Father and Creator.⁶ By the thirteenth century, erudite Catholics were aware of Islam's monotheistic nature and tended to classify it alongside Judaism as

³ See the discussion by SCHWINGES, *Kreuzzugsidologie*, pp. 121-141.

⁴ MOSHE BEN MAYMON, *Mishneh Torah*, book 14, treatise 5, ch. 11, ed. S.T. RUBINSTEIN (Jerusalem, 1962), vol. 14, p. 116. The passage was suppressed in censored editions of Maimonides' work.

⁵ *Alcuini Epistolae*, No. 172, ed. E. DÜMMLER (1895), in MGH Epist. 4:284-285; *Annales de St. Bertin*, ed. F. GRAT et al. (Paris, 1964), p. 54.

⁶ WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, *Commentary on Lamentations*, passage edited in R.M. THOMSON, «William of Malmesbury and Some Other Western Writers on Islam», *Medievalia et Humanistica NS* 6 (1975), 180.

another deficient though monotheistic religion. Even a learned Genoese merchant, Inghetto Contardo, knew that the Saracens *bene confitentur unum deum esse, magnum et potentem.*⁷

In medieval canon law, however, such a perception of Islam appears only fleetingly if at all. It may have been hinted at in Alexander II's letter of 1063 to the bishops of Spain – later incorporated into Ivo of Chartres' *Decretum* and *Panormia* as well as into Gratian's *Decreta*, and repeatedly commented upon by the canonists – in which the pope laid down that it was lawful to wage warfare against Saracens who persecuted Christians and expelled them from their dwellings, whereas the Jews who everywhere were willing to acquiesce in Christian rule ought not to be attacked.⁸ The perception appears more clearly in Innocent IV's discussion of papal jurisdiction over non-Christians, in which he expressly mentioned the Jews and the Talmud, and somewhat later dealt with the hypothetical case of infidels coming to the lands of Christendom to preach *legem Macometi*.⁹ Basically, however, canon lawyers treated the Saracen as a sort of pagan. The same Bernard of Pavia who introduced the title *De Iudeis et Sarracenis* into canonistic literature wrote – also in the 1190s – a *Summa Decretalium* in which he made clear that he considered the terms *Sarraceni* and *pagani* to be fully synonymous. At the outset of his summary of the title dealing with Jews and Saracens he wrote: *Nunc de his agamus, qui Deum male colendo inhonorant, ut sunt Iudei, Sarraceni et haeretici, sed prius de Iudeis, Sarracenis et eorum servis.* Then, at the beginning of the summary of the subsequent title, he remarked: *Diximus de Iudeis et paganis, qui per infidelitatem Deum inhonorant: nunc agendum est de haereticis.*¹⁰ Evidently «Jews and Saracens» equals «Jews

⁷ *Die Disputation zu Ceuta und die Disputation zu Mallorca: Zwei polemische Schriften aus dem mittelalterlichen Genua*, ed. ORA LIMOR in MGH Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters (in press); in general, N. DANIEL, *Islam and the West. The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh, 1960), pp. 39-45.

⁸ Alexander II's letter: PL 146, col. 1386-87; IVO, *Decretum* 13.114 in PL 161, col. 825; *Panormia* 8.29 in PL 161, col. 1311; GRATIAN, C. 23 q. 8 c. 11. The canonists' comments are discussed by P. HERDE, «Christians and Saracens at the Time of the Crusades: Some Comments of Contemporary Medieval Canonists», *Studia Gratiana* 12 (1967), 364-368. There is a partial resemblance between Alexander II's letter and the reasoning of Bernard of Clairvaux in his 1146 call for the crusade: see B.Z. KEDAR, *Crusade and Mission. European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton, 1984), pp. 60-61, 216.

⁹ B.Z. KEDAR, «Canon Law and the Burning of the Talmud», *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* Ns 9 (1979), 79-82; ID., *Crusade and Mission*, pp. 159-160, 217.

¹⁰ BERNARDUS PAPIENSIS, *Summa Decretalium*, 5.5-6, ed. E.A.D. LASPEYRES (Regensburg, 1860; repr. Graz, 1956), pp. 210, 213. In his summary of 5.5, the title dealing with Jews and Saracens, Bernard refers to pagans on three occasions: *ibid.*, pp. 211-212. It may be also noted that in his *Breviarium Extravagantium* Bernard included, under the heading *De Iudeis et Sarracenis et eorum servis*, a passage from the *Vita of Pope Zacharias* (741-752) which describes

and pagans.» This was no idiosyncrasy of Bernard. The terms *Sarracenus* and *paganus* are often used interchangeably in the canon law literature of the thirteenth century. Thus it is symptomatic that the *Liber Extra* contains, under the title *De Iudeis, Sarracenis et eorum servis*, a chapter dealing with the *pagani* of Livonia, i.e. with true idol worshipers of northeastern Europe, and another chapter of that title deals with the *Iudei vel pagani* of Portugal, who are referred to a few words later as *Iudei sive Sarraceni*.¹¹

In sum, while it is possible that canon 26 of the Third Lateran Council reflected William of Tyre's thinking on the Muslims, it is certain that Bernard of Pavia, in his utilization of that canon, did not subscribe to it. The canon law title *De Iudeis et Sarracenis* means in reality *De Iudeis et paganis*, with the Saracens singled out as the most prominent example of paganism. Or to put it differently: the traditional canon law triad Jews-pagans-heretics was reformulated as Jews-Saracens-heretics, a reformulation echoing the depiction of the Saracens as idol-worshiping pagans in the *chansons de geste* as well as in many chronicles of the crusades.

There were also lawyers who explicitly classified Saracens as idolaters. In his extensively used commentary on Justinian's Code, Azo introduced Emperor Constantius' edict of 354, which ordered the closing of pagan temples, by explaining that it dealt *de paganis, id est de Sarracenis, qui deos innumeros, deasque, immo daemones colunt et adorant*.¹² Some later civilists followed Azo in discussing Saracens under the heading *De paganis* in Justinian's Code: for instance, under this heading Bartolus dealt with the lawfulness of ecclesiastically initiated warfare against Saracens and Turks.¹³ Azo had a follower also among the canonists. This was Hostiensis, who closely followed Azo when explaining in his *Summa Aurea* that the Saracens are those who worship innumerable gods, goddesses, and demons. Moreover, unlike Azo, he specifically applied to the Saracens the full rigor of Late Imperial anti-pagan legislation, stating that *omnia... tempora Saracenorum applicantur reipublicae*.¹⁴ But the view of Azo and Hostiensis influenced neither Catholic legislation concerning the

a Venetian attempt to conduct Christian slaves from Rome to the pagans — i.e. the Muslims — of Africa: *I Comp.* 5.5.2 in *Quinque compilationes antiquae*, p. 55; *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. DU CHESNE, vol. 1 (Paris, 1955), p. 433.

¹¹ X 5.6.10, 18. For another example see RAIMUNDUS DE PENNAFORTE, *Summa de paenitentia* 2.6.11, ed. Xavier OCHOA and Aloisius DIEZ, *Universa Bibliotheca Iuris* 1/B (Rome 1976), col. 535-536.

¹² AZO, *Summa Aurea* to Cod. 1.11 (Lyons, 1557), col. 7a.

¹³ BARTOLUS DE SAXOFERRATO, *Lectura super primam partem Codicis* (Lyons, 1510), col. 25c. In a similar vein Odofredus writes: *nunc tractetur de paganis i. de sarracenis, qui nullam habent fidem*. ODOFREDUS, *In primam Codicis partem Praelectiones*, 1.1 (Lyons, 1552), p. 33b.

¹⁴ HOSTIENSIS, *Summa Aurea* to X 5.6 (Venice, 1574; repr. Turin, 1963), col. 1523.

Muslims who lived under Christian rule nor the canonists' discussions of their status. This point may be illustrated by the one canon law text that aims at interfering with or limiting Islamic worship, the 25th decree of the Council of Vienne, which forbade the Muslim public call to prayer, and pilgrimage. This very decree, however, takes for granted the prayer of the Saracens *in templis seu mesquitis suis*. Soon incorporated into the Clementines, the decree was commented on by numerous canonists, none of whom expressed any doubt whatsoever as to the right of the Saracens to pray in their mosques.¹⁵ Evidently they did not believe that the Late Imperial legislation on pagan temples applied to the Muslim prayer houses of their day.

A further mode of categorizing the Saracens was to brand them as heretics. An understandable Christian reaction to a creed that refers to Jesus, Mary, and other Old and New Testament figures in a respectful though unorthodox manner, this classification appeared already in the early years of the Christian-Muslim encounter. In the first half of the eighth century, John of Damascus discussed Islam as the «heresy of the Ishmaelites» at the end of his tractate on Christian heresies.¹⁶ His work, influential in the East, was translated into Latin in the thirteenth century, but the perception of Islam as a heresy is attested to in the Latin West already in the ninth.¹⁷ In the middle of the twelfth century the question whether Islam should be regarded a heresy was discussed at some length by Peter the Venerable, the man who initiated the first translation of the Quran into Latin. In the prologue to his *Liber adversus nefandam heresim sive sectam Sarracenorum* he wondered whether the followers of «Mahumet» ought to be considered heretics or pagans, but unable to reach a conclusion, let his readers make their choice.¹⁸ On the other hand, an important theological text written about a century later unequivocally grouped heretics and Saracens together. This was the *Summa universae theologiae* –

¹⁵ The commentaries on Clem. 5.2 are the subject of a future article of mine. In the meantime see A. D'ANCONA, «Il tesoro di Brunetto Latini versificato», *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei. Memorie della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 285 (1888), 210; E. BUSSI, «La condizione giuridica dei musulmani nel diritto canonico», *Rivista di storia del diritto italiano* 8 (1935), 479-488; DANIEL, *Islam and the West*, p. 208.

¹⁶ D. J. SAHAS, *John of Damascus on Islam: The «Heresy of the Ishmaelites»* (Leiden, 1972).

¹⁷ See M. C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, «Los textos antimahometanos más antiguos en codices españoles», *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 45 (1970), 157; ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS, *Chronographia Tripertita*, in *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C. DE BOOR, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1885), p. 209. For later instances see for example FRUTOLF OF MICHELSBERG, *Chronicon Universale*, ed. G. WAITZ (1844), in MGH SS 6:153; *Carmen in victoriam Pisanorum*, c. 52, ed. H. E. J. COWDREY, in «The Mahdia Campaign of 1087», *English Historical Review* 92 (1977), 27.

¹⁸ See J. KRITZECK, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton, 1964), p. 227.

traditionally ascribed to Alexander of Hales but completed about a dozen years after his death in 1245 – which maintained that the injunction *Maleficos non patieris vivere* (Ex. 22:18) applied to heretics and Saracens, who might therefore be justly killed and despoiled.¹⁹

But although the option to categorize the Muslims as heretics existed in medieval literature at large, it was never exercised in canon law. Medieval legislators and lawyers were evidently aware of the gap between the practical consequences of such a categorization and the reality of Muslim life under Catholic rule and chose therefore to ignore this option. As S.N. Eisenstadt, the sociologist, has observed, in the legal sphere monotheistic religions are constrained to adopt a more lenient stance toward the non-believer than they can afford to do in other areas.²⁰ One may surmise that for the same reason canonists did not apply to the Muslims the Late Imperial legislation on pagans.

While practical considerations precluded categorizations or inferences that would have been at gross variance with reality, the canonists of the twelfth and thirteenth century did not attempt to come to grips with the nature of Islam and contented themselves with subsuming it under a preexisting category, paganism. The definition of Muslims that prevailed in their writings was the negative one supplied by Bernard of Pavia – a definition that totally ignored the content of the Muslims' creed. *Sarraceni vero dicuntur*, wrote Bernard, *qui nec vetus nec novum recipient testamentum, qui non se ab Agar, Abrahae ancilla, de qua eorum fuit origo, Agarenos vocari voluerunt, sed potius a Sarra, eiusdem uxore et libera, se Sarracenos appellaverunt. Sunt tamen inter Sarracenos quidam, qui quinque Moysis libros receperunt, sed prophetas respuerunt, qui Samaritani a Samaria civitate dicuntur, et ideo, quia prophetas respuerunt, dicitur in evangelio: «Non coutuntur Iudei Samaritanis».*²¹ Consequently the canonists

¹⁹ *Alexandri de Hales Summa Theologica*, III, no. 377 II Sol. (Quaracchi, 1948), vol. 4.2, p. 563.

²⁰ S.N. EISENSTADT, «The Perception of Others in Monotheistic Religions – Some Comparative Sociological Considerations», paper read at the International Congress on A Member of Another Religion in Religious Law, Jerusalem-Haifa, 27-30 April 1987. On the application of legislation on Jews to Muslims who lived under Catholic rule see H. GILLES, «Législation et doctrine canoniques sur les Sarrasins», *Islam et chrétiens du Midi* (XII^e-XIV^e s.), Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 18 (Toulouse, 1983), pp. 201, 205, 212; N. ZACOUR, *Jews and Saracens in the Consilia of Oldradus de Ponte*, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Studies and Texts 100 (Toronto, 1990), pp. 17-24.

²¹ BERNARDUS PAPIENSIS, *Summa Decretalium*, 5.5, ed. LASPEYRES, p. 210. The same definition appears in RAIMUNDUS DE PENNAFORTE, *Summa de paenitentia* 1.4.1, ed. OCHOA and DIEZ, col. 309; GOFFREDUS TRANENSIS, *Summa super titulis decretalium*, 5.6 (Lyons, 1519, repr. Aalen, 1968), p. 205b; HOSTIENSIS, *Summa Aurea* to X 5.6 (Venice, 1574, repr. Turin, 1963), col. 1523; ALBERTUS DE ROSATE, *Dictionarium iuris tam civilis quam canonici* (Venice, 1574, repr. Turin, 1971), s.v. *Saracenus*.

lagged behind their better-informed contemporaries, including Peter the Venerable, Otto of Freising, Jacques de Vitry, Humbert of Romans and Ramon Llull, to mention only the more conspicuous. They also trailed behind the civil codes of two polities with sizable Muslim populations: the *Assises* of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, which referred to Islam as the *lei de Mahoumet* and ordered Saracens to swear *sur le Coran*, and the *Siete Partidas*, which defined Muslims as those who *creen que Mahomat fue profeta et mandadero de Dios*.²² Evidently the categorization, in religious law, of a group of non-believers can take place within a closed, conservative system, uninfluenced by the intellectual achievements of the day. Only after aspects of the Islamic cult were expressly mentioned in a decree of the Council of Vienne, did canonists see fit to refer directly to Muhammad, the emergence of Islam, and its ritual.

²² *Livre au Roi*, c. 23 and *Livre des Assises de la Cour des Bourgeois*, c. 241, both ed. by A.A. BEUGNOT in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Lois*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1841-42), 1:622; 2:172; *Las siete partidas del Rey don Alfonso el Sabio*, 7.25 (Madrid, 1807), vol. 3, p. 675. Bernard of Pavia's definition appears a few sentences later.

Muslim conversion in canon law

When, in 1087, Count Roger of Sicily faced difficulties in reducing Castrogiovanni, the last Muslim castle on the island, he made its lord Ḥammūd, whose wife and children he had taken captive a few days earlier, the offer of surrendering the castle and becoming Christian. The Muslim, who himself had allegedly considered conversion, complied on condition that upon conversion he might retain his wife, despite the fact that she was related to him in a degree forbidden among Christians. Count Roger gave his consent, and thus the castle was taken. Ḥammūd, his wife and children were baptized and given land in Calabria, far from their former subjects and coreligionists.¹

The Norman conqueror of Sicily is not known to have compounded his claim to legatine power with pretensions to expertise in canon law; yet his decision with regard to Ḥammūd anticipated the ruling which was incorporated into the law of the Church. About one hundred years after Ḥammūd's conversion the canons of Ciudad Rodrigo in southern León asked Clement III whether converted Jews or Saracens may retain wives related to them in the second, third, or fourth degree, and whether they may leave them and marry others. Clement answered that the converts may keep their wives, whether these accepted Christianity or not, but should not be forced to do so. If the wife expressed her willingness to remain with her converted husband, he was not to marry another; however, if the convert's wife should offend against Christianity, the marriage should be dissolved and the convert allowed to remarry.² This neatly balanced decision put an end to a debate on the status of consanguineous marriages contracted by Jews (or infidels in general) before their conver-

¹ 'Chamut cum uxore et liberis christianus efficitur, hoc solo conventioni interposito, quod uxor sua, quae sibi quadam consanguinitatis linea conjungebatur, in posterum sibi non interdicetur'. Gaufredus Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guiscardi ducis fratris ejus*, ed. E. Pontieri (1925-28) in RIS² 5.1.88. Malaterra's date was corrected by M. Amari, *Storia dei musulmani di Sicilia*, ed. C.A. Nallino III, 1 (Catania 1939) 177 n. 1.

² 2 Comp. 3.20.1. For the correct inscription, *Capitulo canonicorum Civitatensis ecclesie*, see W. Holtzmann, 'Die Benutzung Gratians in der päpstlichen Kanzlei im 12. Jahrhundert', *Studia Gratiana* 1 (1953) 333.

sion, a debate that seems to have gone on in the Schools for some time.³ Clement's ruling, possibly influenced by Huguccio's thinking on the issue, made its way into the *Compilatio secunda*, though not into the *Decretals*, since it was superseded by a decretal issued by Innocent III in 1201.⁴ According to this decretal, the bishop of Tiberias had reported to the pope that recently God 'had inspired the hearts of many pagans to come to the Christian faith'. The bishop of Tiberias must have been a titular one, for Tiberias had been in Muslim hands since 1187;⁵ the 'many pagans', in early thirteenth-century Palestine, could only have been Muslims; the report of their conversion is of some importance for the social history of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem, as no other source mentions the event. Having expressed his joy at the news, Innocent proceeds to answer questions which arose in connection with these infidels. The first question, like the one asked a decade or so earlier by the canons of Ciudad Rodrigo, refers to consanguineous marriages contracted before baptism. Innocent, like Clement (and, one might add, Count Roger) before him, answers that converts may retain their consanguineous spouses. Besides basing his decision on the First Epistle to the Corinthians, Innocent also perceptively observes that if such infidels were ordered to part with their wives, the latter, fearing abandonment, would easily induce the husbands to withdraw from their acceptance of Christianity. (The husbands love their wives beyond measure, explains Hostiensis).⁶ Thus, in Sicily, Spain, and in the Crusader East, that is, in all three areas in which a Muslim population came to be

³ For the views of Ivo of Chartres, Hugh of St. Victor, the *Summa Coloniensis*, Peter of Poitiers, and Huguccio on the validity of consanguineous marriages contracted between Jews or infidels before their conversion, see M. Verbaarschot, 'De iuridica natura impedimenti consanguinitatis in theologia et in iure canonico a S. Petro Damiano usque ad Decretales Gregorii IX (ca. 1063-1234)', *Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses* 20 (1954) 728-30, 739. The author argues convincingly that one may deduce from the *Summa Coloniensis* that consanguineous marriages between Jews were usually dissolved upon baptism. His assumption that Gratian's demand to dissolve consanguineous liaisons (C. 28 q. 1 d.p.c. 14) applies to consanguineously married converts is however questionable.

⁴ X 4.19.8. The date of the decretal was established as 1201, since its contents and addressee are mentioned in one of the rubrics of the letters of Innocent III's fourth year, the registers of which do not survive: *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantium*, ed. A. Theiner I (Rome 1863; repr. Osnabrück 1968) 55 n. 8.

⁵ The tithes titular bishops residing in Acre after 1191 demanded from their former parishioners are dealt with in a decretal of Celestine III: X 3.29.5. Cf. J.S.C. Riley-Smith, 'Latin Titular Bishops in Palestine and Syria, 1137-1291', *Catholic historical review* 64 (1978) 4-5.

⁶ Hostiensis, *Comm. X 4.19.8 Reuocari*: 'Per uxores, quas nimis diligunt, timentes se deserit a maritis, si contrarium seruaretur, et ideo ipsos retraherent a conuersione' (ed. Venet. 1581 fol. 45vb n. 7).

subjected to Catholic conquerors, the problem of consanguineously married converts came up, and was solved in the same way. Given the high incidence, in the realm of Islam, of marriage between close relatives, and especially of FBD marriage — this is how anthropologists somewhat ungraciously refer to marriage with the father's brother's daughter — the prominence of the problem is not surprising.⁷

Polygamous marriage contracted before conversion is another problem Innocent deals with in his letter to the bishop of Tiberias. The pope rules that, despite biblical precedents, polygamy is inadmissible after conversion. Although Innocent does not state it explicitly, the context implies that the polygamous convert should stay with the wife he had married first. (Indeed the ruling was so interpreted by the decretalists, with Hostiensis expounding, *inter alia*, that if the wife he had married first died, the convert was not to retain any of the other wives married during his first wife's lifetime).⁸ Next, Innocent returns to consanguineously married converts and rules that offspring born to them after their conversion should be considered legitimate.⁹ Finally, the pope turns his attention to the problem of divorce and declares that since divorce was condemned in the Gospel, a divorced convert should not be allowed to remarry as long as his repudiated wife is alive. Only if she refuses to cohabit with him, or if she consents but gives offence to Christianity or leads him into mortal sin, may the convert marry another woman.¹⁰ However, if the repudiated woman later should become a Christian, the convert was to be compelled to return to her even if she had married another man before her conversion.

This rule was not to apply if the original reason for the divorce had been adultery, or if the converted husband had justifiably married another woman, for any of the above reasons, before the repudiated wife converted to

⁷ Consanguineously married converts are also dealt with, along the same lines, in a decretal (X 4.14.4), which Innocent III sent in 1198 to the archbishop and chapter of Tyre. As the pope mentions that these converts had married 'secundum legis veteris instituta vel traditiones suas circa gradus consanguinitatis', they were probably Jews, not Muslims. (Of course, the decretalists interpreted the decretal as applying to both.) On FBD and MBD marriage in the realm of Islam see S.D. Goitein, *A mediterranean society: The Jewish communities of the Arab world as portrayed in the documents of the Cairo Geniza III* (Berkeley 1978) 27-32, 433 n. 72.

⁸ Raymond of Peñaforte, *Summa de casibus poenitentiae* 4.10.3 (Rome 1603, repr. Farnborough 1967, p. 548); Hostiensis, *Comm.* X 4.19.8 *Non ad imparia iudicentur* (ed. Venet. 1581 fol. 46ra n. 10); Johannes Andreea, *Comm.* X 4.19.7 *Iudicentur* (ed. Venet. 1581 fol. 67va n. 10). See also A. Esmein, *Le mariage en droit canonique* (2nd ed. Paris 1929) 254-55.

⁹ This passage appears in X 4.17.15.

¹⁰ For an earlier, more rudimentary formulation of Innocent's view on this issue, see his letter of May 1, 1199 to the bishop of Ferrara, X 4.19.7.

Christianity.¹¹ In setting down his decision on consanguineous converts, Innocent implied that it would further conversion; he might have been aware that his decisions on polygamy and divorce would have the opposite effect.

Another decretal dealing with Muslim conversion in the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem has only recently been recognized as such. This is Celestine III's important decretal *Laudabilem pontificalis*, long believed to have been sent to an archbishop of Sens,¹² until Walther Holtzmann discovered that the *Collectio Rotomagensis* indicates that it was addressed to a bishop of Acre and that the *Collectio Seguntina*, which gives the same inscription, allows it to be dated between January 21 and March 12, 1193.¹³ Since crusader sources mention a certain Theobald as bishop of Acre in 1192, 1198, and 1200,¹⁴ we may now consider him as the true recipient of this decretal. One may surmise that a copy was sent to Michel de Corbeil, the dean of Paris who was nominated to the patriarchate of Jerusalem early in 1194 but preferred to become, on April 24, 1194, archbishop of Sens.¹⁵

In *Laudabilem pontificalis* Celestine answers, *inter alia*, three questions concerning Saracen conversion.¹⁶ May a Saracen captive who killed his Christian captor with the wife's connivance and then converted to Christianity, legally marry the slain captor's widow? No, answers the pope, the Church does not want to compensate so great a loss with such a gain. At first glance, Bishop Theobald's question seems to smack of fiction — until one remembers that only two decades later, another bishop of Acre, Jacques of Vitry, will lament the poisonous machinations to which the ladies of Acre had recourse in order to dispose of their husbands and be free to marry others.¹⁷ (Nonetheless, Panormitanus may have gone too far

¹¹ For the views of some decretalists on the question whether the matrimonial link obtains despite *contumelia Creatoris* on the part of the repudiated wife, see Esmein, *Le mariage* 255-58. For a short survey of views by canonists and theologians on the value of infidel marriage see J. Dauvillier, *Le mariage dans le droit classique de l'Eglise depuis le Décret de Gratien (1140) jusqu'à la mort de Clément V (1314)* (Paris 1933) 483-90.

¹² JL 17649; Friedberg in note 1 to 2 Comp. 4.6.3.

¹³ Holtzmann, 'Die Benutzung', 339-41, where the use of Gratian in this decretal is discussed; Idem, 'La "Collectio Seguntina" et les décrétales de Clément III et de Célestin III', RHE 50 (1955) 443.

¹⁴ R. Röhricht, 'Syria sacra', *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 10 (1887) 20.

¹⁵ For his career see H. Bouvier, *Histoire de l'église et de l'ancien archidiocèse de Sens II* (Amiens 1911) 144-45; W. Hotzelt, *Kirchengeschichte Palästinas im Zeitalter der Kreuzzüge* (Cologne 1940) 169-70. A letter by the bishop of Lydda inviting Michel to assume the office of patriarch of Jerusalem is printed in Baluze, *Miscellanea*, ed. Mansi III (Lucca 1762) 90-91.

¹⁶ The part of the decretal dealing with these questions appears in X 3.33.1.

¹⁷ *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry, évêque de Saint-Jean-d'Acre*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens (Leiden 1960) 87 (Letter 2, lines 192-94).

when he remarked, 'et est pulcher et quotidianus casus'.¹⁸) The second question also deals with a problem that pertains to the warrior class. May a Saracen who killed a Christian in battle and then converted to Christianity marry the dead man's widow? And may a Christian marry the converted widow of a Saracen whom he slew? Yes, answers Celestine, these widows had no part in the deaths of their husbands; their second marriages are binding; if they should demand divorce upon discovering that their second husband had killed the first, their request must be rejected. These suspiciously symmetrical liaisons between slayers and widows sound rather hypothetical. Not so the next case, which deals with a Christian who left his faith and wife, and, according to Gentile rites, took a pagan woman for wife who in due time bore him a number of sons.¹⁹ The abandoned Christian wife, with the consent of her archdeacon, married another man and bore him children. What should be done, asks Theobald in one of his many queries pertaining to this complicated case, if the renegade, after the death of his Christian wife, decides to return to Christianity and marry the pagan wife 'who because of him converted to our faith together with her children'? The pope rules that revert and convert may marry and their children be considered legitimate.²⁰ Though somewhat hypothetically presented in the decretal, this case finds a close parallel in the memoirs of Usāma b. Munqidh, a Syrian noble who had many contacts with the crusaders and died in 1188. Usāma tells of a Frank by the name of Raoul who was captured by the men of Shaizar, converted to Islam, and learned the craft of marble carving. He seemed so sincere in his prayers and fasting that the ruler of Shaizar, Usāma's father, married him to the daughter of a pious family; she bore him two sons. When the boys were five or six

¹⁸ Abbas Siculus, *Lect. X 3.33.1 Laudabile* (I am using the unpaginated Venice edition of 1488). The remark introduces the decretal in Friedberg's edition.

¹⁹ On the similar case of Christians who settled down in Saracen lands and renounced their Christian faith, see a hitherto unpublished decretal of Alexander III addressed to an archbishop of Tyre, possibly the chronicler William: *Collectio Rotomagensis* 1.17 (BN lat. 3922A, fol. 148vb). Cf. R. Hiestand, 'Zum Leben und zur Laufbahn Wilhelms von Tyrus', DA 34 (1978) 367. The decretal should be compared with the Crusader *Livre au Roi*, ch. 23 (*Recueil des historiens des Croisades*, Lois 1.622) and the *Abrége du Livre des Assises de la Cour des Bourgeois*, ch. 24 (ibid. 2.325). — See Additional note, infra.

²⁰ In 1199 Innocent III, alluding to this decretal, ruled that an abandoned Christian consort should not be allowed to remarry, thus overriding both the archdeacon and Celestine who had approved of his decision: X 4.19.7; also, Hostiensis, *Comm. X 4.19.7 Predecessor noster* (ed. Venet. 1581 fol. 44vb n. 1). In consequence, Raymond of Peñaforte suppressed not only the sentence in Celestine's decretal which refers to the abandoned Christian consort, but also the entire passage dealing with the apostate Christian and his return. Cf. Esmein, *Le mariage*, 259; Dauvillier, *Le mariage* 336; R. Weigand, 'Das Scheidungsproblem in der mittelalterlichen Kanonistik', *Theologische Quartalschrift* 151 (1971) 57.

years old, Raoul fled with his Muslim family to Apamea in the crusading principality of Antioch, where he reverted to Christianity together with his children. Usāma does not specify whether the wife also became Christian.²¹ Raoul, in any case, could not have been identical with the revert of Celestine's decretal: as Apamea was reconquered by the Muslims as early as 1149, Raoul must have fled there some time earlier, that is, about half a century before Celestine's pontificate.

The two decretals sent to the bishops of Tiberias and Acre, surviving as they do only in the canonist tradition, went unnoticed by general historians of the crusades. Considered in conjunction with Arabic, Latin, and Old French sources, these decretals seem to indicate that, in Crusader Palestine, Muslim conversion to Christianity was less rare than usually assumed.

Perhaps more vexing than the questions concerning the marital life of the converted Muslim was the problem of the Muslim slave seeking baptism. Since in some regions baptism paved the way for the slave's liberation, or at least entailed a limitation on his exploitation, some Christian masters endeavored to prevent their Muslim slaves from accepting Christianity. Surprisingly enough, the earliest piece of evidence about such attempts relates to monastic masters. A clause in the Cistercian statutes of 1152 states that 'the ancient rule about the Saracens should be observed, namely, that they should not be bought, nor prohibited from being baptized'.²² As the clause recurs in the statutes of 1157, 1175, and 1215, the problem undoubtedly remained acute.²³ In twelfth-century Palestine, where a slave's baptism led to his manumission, a law laid down that a slave who flees his master and is baptized elsewhere, must be returned to his former state of servitude, since he sought baptism in ill faith 'por estre delivres dou servage'.²⁴ The fugitive evidently knew that his master would not let him be baptized (and thus become free), and therefore singlehandedly sought his salvation elsewhere. Indeed Jacques of Vitry, bishop of Acre between 1216 and 1228, thunders against crusader lords who refused their Saracens baptism, 'although these earnestly and tearfully requested it'. The lords,

²¹ *An Arab Syrian gentleman and warrior in the period of the Crusades: Memoirs of Usāmah ibn-Munqidh*, trans. P.K. Hitti (New York 1929) 160.

²² 'De Saracenis antiqua sententia teneatur, scilicet ut nec emantur, nec baptizari prohibeantur'. *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis, 1116-1786*, ed. J.-M. Canivez I (Louvain 1933) 49.

²³ *Ibid.* 66, 83, 436.

²⁴ *Assises de la Cour des Bourgeois*, ch. 255 (Recueil ..., Lois 2. 191). The assise also states that a Saracen slave who escapes *en Paenime* — to the realm of Islam — and then returns to the Crusading Kingdom, and requests baptism, thereby proves the sincerity of his intentions, and should obtain free status. Cf. J. Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford 1980) 209.

writes Jacques, claimed that if Saracens converted, they would be unable to oppress them at will.²⁵ In Catalonia, as Raymond of Peñaforte relates, there obtained the 'good custom' that a Christian could not be a slave; in other words, a Muslim slave who accepted Christianity had to be granted freedom.²⁶ Consequently, in Barcelona some Jewish and Christian masters, 'fearing to lose a worldly advantage', endeavored to prevent the conversion of their Saracens, demanding that the church of Barcelona compensate them for the loss incurred through their baptism — a state of affairs Innocent III attempted to end in 1206.²⁷

The problem of the legal status of the converted Muslim slave, though of considerable practical importance, went unmentioned in the *Decretals* — still another manifestation of the discrepancy between law and reality on which Paul Hyams had commented the other day. The *decretalists*, however, dealt with the question at some length. The basic solution was supplied by Raymond of Peñaforte, who in his *Summa de casibus poenitentiae* laid down that as a rule baptism does not bestow free status, since slavery is undoubtedly legal. Nevertheless he recommended that in countries like Catalonia, where Christian slavery was unknown, masters should manumit their slaves or allow them to redeem themselves.²⁸ Gregory IX, in two letters of 1237 and 1238 sent to the Crusading Kingdom, adopted a more radical stance: having mentioned the *consuetudo terrae* which bestows freedom on converted slaves (*sclavi*), he goes on to order that slaves who sincerely ask to be baptized should be allowed to do so — and remain in their servile state. The pope demands that converted slaves be allowed to attend church and receive the sacraments and, in the first letter, also proposes in very general terms that they be treated humanely. But basically, he leaves their social status unaltered. One might say that he knowingly sacrifices the amelioration of their temporal status promised by local custom in order to overcome the crusader masters' opposition to the

²⁵ *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*, 87-88 (letter 2, lines 205-10).

²⁶ *Summa de casibus poenitentiae* 1.4.7 (p. 37 of the Rome 1603 edition). Raymond's commentator, William of Rennes, writing between 1240 and 1245, remarks: 'Cum alicubi propter consuetudinem huiusmodi non permittunt domini servos suos baptizari, et credo quod male faciunt omnes tales'. (*ib.*)

²⁷ D. Mansilla, ed., *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III (965-1216)* (Monumenta Hispaniae Vaticana, Registros 1; Rome 1955) 375-76, doc. 352. Cf. *Las siete partidas del Rey don Alfonso el Sabio* (Madrid 1807) III 120-21. And see also R.I. Burns, 'Journey from Islam: Incipient cultural transition in the conquered kingdom of Valencia (1240-1280)', *Speculum* 35 (1960) 344 (reprinted in his *Moors and Crusaders in Mediterranean Spain: Collected essays* [London 1978] 12.344).

²⁸ *Summa de casibus poenitentiae* 1.4.7 (p. 37). Cf. Burns, *loc. cit.*

amelioration he considers paramount, namely baptism. In other words, while Raymond aims at a de facto preservation of the *consuetudo terrae*, Gregory unequivocally abrogates it.²⁹

Issued too late to be included in the *Decretals*, Gregory's letters nevertheless seem to have influenced decretalist thinking on the issue. At any rate, both Goffredus Tranensis and Hostiensis, who quote almost verbatim Raymond's statement that a converted slave remains in his servile condition, skip the recommendation to manumit the convert wherever local custom so prescribes, with Hostiensis adding, quite in line with Gregory's letter of 1237, that a master should not vent his anger on his converted slave as he had been used to before baptism, but treat him mildly and benignly.³⁰ This conception is clearly reflected in the laws of Aragonese Sicily, promulgated in 1310 under the influence of Arnau of Villanova.³¹

The consensus of canonist thought branded the forced christianization of Saracens unlawful. Alanus Anglicus's opinion that infidels like the Saracens who obstinately resist the Christians may be compelled to accept the Christian faith by removal of their property and 'by corporeal scourges short of death', was an unusual view. He himself was aware of that fact, for he immediately went on to say that 'others, however, say that we should only defend ourselves against them and not go on the attack'.³²

²⁹ For the letter of July 28, 1237, see *Acta Honorii III (1216-27) et Gregorii IX (1227-41)*, ed. A.L. Tăutu (Città del Vaticano 1950) 307-08, No. 228; for that of March 9, 1238, see *Reg. Greg. IX*, No. 4147. It is noteworthy that the pope sent on the very same day of March 9 a letter to his legate in Livonia, dealing with the impact of baptism on men of servile status: F.G. von Bunge, ed., *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch I*, 1 (Reval 1853, repr. Aalen 1967) doc. 158, col. 203-04. I intend to compare elsewhere Gregory's two letters of March 9, 1238.

³⁰ Goffredus Tranensis, *Summa super titulis Decretalium* 5.5.4 *Numquid christianus* (ed. Lugd. 1519, repr. Aalen 1968 fol. 206va n. 8); Hostiensis, *Summa Aurea* 5.5.4 *Quia Iudei* (ed. Venet. 1574, repr. Turin 1963 col. 1528 n. 5). The printed edition lets Hostiensis say that the converted slave should be treated 'leniter et benigne'; however, both Munich MSS Clm 14006 (sec. xiv) fol. 170vb and Clm 15707 (sec. xiv) fol. 240va have 'leuiter et benigne'.

³¹ The text is now easily accessible in Ch. Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale* II (Gent 1977) 192-98.

³² Alanus, *Apparatus 'Ius Naturale'* on C. 23 q. 4 d.p.c. 36 *Rationabiliter* (BN lat. 15393 fol. 186va): 'Quod dictum est supra, xlvi. De Iudeis [D. 45 c. 5] etc. Qui emendat [c. 11] in glosa, hic ad memoriam reuoca. Hoc adiciendum puta: Qualiter infideles ad fidem compelli possunt? Qui fidem christianam receperunt et eam per apostasiam uel heresim reliquerunt, reuerti compelluntur... Qui numquam fidem receperunt: quidam nobis resistunt contumaciter ut Saraceni, alii nobis sunt subiecti ut Iudei. Qui nobis non resistunt, ad fidem compellere non debemus, ut xlvi. Qui sincera, De Iudeis [D. 45 cc. 3,5], i. q.viii. Dispar [C. 23 q. 8 c. 11]. Resistentes vero bonorum subtractione et flagellis corporalibus citra mortem ad fidem possumus compellere, ar. Infra e.q. Quis nos amplius [C. 23 q. 4 c. 43] et q.viii. Dispar [C. 23 q. 8 c. 11]. Unde Christiani principes licite eis bella indicunt et a sedibus eos expellunt, et si armis se defendunt, interficiunt. Infra q. viii. Omni, Dispar [C. 23 q. 8 cc. 9,11], ar. infra q.v. Si audieris [C. 23 q. 5 c. 32]. Alii tamen dicunt quod ab eis nos tantum debemus defendere et non impetrare'. A part of this gloss was quoted by F.H. Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge 1975) 197 n. 194.

Indeed, even when Innocent IV laid down that force may be employed to secure the entrance of Christian preachers into infidel lands, he emphasized that the act of conversion must result from a free decision.³³ And Johannes de Ancona, the only canonist known to have worked in the Crusader Levant, takes issue with the view that invasion of infidel countries may lead to conversion, and unequivocally rejects it. 'Sed dices: "Per hoc [i.e., through invasion] convertentur". Sed respondeo, nec etiam sunt compellendi ad fidem, quia in hoc sola gratia Dei valet'.³⁴ As this exchange does not appear in Innocent IV's commentary on the *Decretals*, which is his apparent source at that juncture, it is conceivable that Johannes, living as he was among crusaders, formulated it to counter the popular perception of the crusade as an expedition aiming at infidel conversion.³⁵

While canonists repeatedly presented forced baptism as unlawful, their reluctance to use harsh means for furthering infidel conversion was perceptibly diminishing. Gratian in his *Decreta* quoted verbatim Gregory I's declaration of 602 that Christians should strive to lead the infidels to the faith 'blandimentis non asperitatibus'.³⁶ But in the 1190's Bernard of Pavia, in his *Summa Decretalium*, asserted that Jews and Saracens should be invited to the Christian faith, though not compelled to embrace it, 'auctoritatibus, rationibus et blandimentis potius quam asperitatibus'³⁷ — recourse to asperities, though not recommended, was no longer ruled out. Bernard's formulation was taken verbatim into the *Summa de casibus poenitentiae* of Raymond of Peñaforte and the *Summa super rubricis Decretalium* of Goffredus Tranensis.³⁸ And while Bernard of Pavia, following

³³ Innocent IV, *Apparatus super quinque libros Decretalium* on X 3.34.8 (ed. Frankfurt/M 1570 fol. 430va n. 8).

³⁴ Johannes de Ancona, *Summa iuris canonici* on 3.34.8 (Brugge, Stadsbibliotheek MS 377 fol. 227ra). On the work and its author see M. Bertram, 'Johannes de Ancona: Ein Jurist des 13. Jahrhunderts in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten', BMCL 7 (1977) 49-64; Johannes de Ancona has been identified with Giovanni Fazioli by D. Maffei, *Giuristi medievali e falsificazioni editoriali del primo Cinquecento* (Ius commune, Sonderhefte., Texte und Monographien 10; Frankfurt/M 1979) 75-80.

³⁵ This perception of the crusade will be dealt with in my *Crusade and Mission*.

³⁶ *Gregorii I papae Registrum epistolarum*, ed. L.M. Hartmann in MGH Epist. 2.383; Gratian, D. 45 c. 3.

³⁷ Bernard of Pavia, *Summa Decretalium* 5.5.3 (ed. E.A.D. Laspeyres [Regensburg 1860, repr. Graz 1956] 210-11).

³⁸ Raymond of Peñaforte, *Summa de casibus poenitentiae* 1.4.2 (pp. 32-33 of the Rome 1603 edition); Goffredus Tranensis, *Summa super titulis Decretalium* 5.5.4 (fol. 205rb of the Lyons 1519 edition). It is noteworthy that the *Siete partidas*, faithful to Gregory I's original formulation, have: 'Por buenas palabras et convenientes predicaciones se deben trabajar los cristianos de convertir á los moros para facerles creer la nuestra fe et para adocirlos á ella, et non per fuerza nin por premia'. *Las siete partidas* III 676.

Gregory I, authorizes the Christians to impose taxes on the Jews and Saracens living in their midst, Raymond of Penyaforte develops this sanction into still another constraint to pressure the infidels into conversion. A Christian, writes Raymond, may draw the infidels into the faith by promises and gifts, as well as by a more severe exaction of imposts.³⁹ Raymond's commentator, William of Rennes, went so far as to argue that during periods of truce, and especially during war, it was not sinful to abduct infidel children and have them baptized, as long as the abductors' intention was a pious one.⁴⁰

Conversion from Christianity to Islam, a phenomenon not at all rare in the period under discussion, is alluded to in the *Decretals* just once, and even then with tongue in cheek. In a decretal issued by Innocent III in 1203, Agnes, a Christian woman from the archbishopric of Tarragona, furious with her husband for breaking their agreement to forego sexual relations, affirms that she would sooner become Saracen ('prius se faceret Saracenam') — which means 'to convert to Islam' — and lose her soul, than return to her fickle husband.⁴¹ (On the word 'affirms', Hostiensis remarks: 'more muliebri'; while 'Saracen' he sees fit to elucidate with the words: 'nimis erat commota').⁴² But with Raymond of Penyaforte, so much closer to the Muslim realm, defection to Islam is a serious matter. In the *Summa de casibus poenitentie* he asks whether Christians who live under Saracen rule and acknowledge 'Machomet' as envoy of God; or visit the tomb of 'Almaedi' as if he were a saint; or live publicly as Saracens yet remain faithful to Christianity in secret, should be considered heretics. Elsewhere, in discussing the liberation of Christians from Saracen captivity, he rules that such an act is lawful even during truce, for there obtains the danger that the captive might be forced to be circumcised or worship idols.⁴³

Canon law sources are of considerable importance to the study of Muslim conversion to Christianity; Raymond of Penyaforte's *Summa* con-

³⁹. Bernard of Pavia, *Summa Decretalium* 5.5.4 (p. 211 of Laspeyres' edition); Raymond of Penyaforte, *Summa de casibus poenitentiae* 1.4.3 (p. 34 of the Rome 1603 edition).

⁴⁰ William of Rennes on Raymond of Penyaforte, *Summa de casibus poenitentiae* 2.6.11 *Intentionem* (p. 226a of the Rome, 1603 edition). See also the *Summa* on Raymond's second recension, Munich, Clm 9664 fol. 27ra.

⁴¹ X 2.24.24.

⁴² Hostiensis, *Comm.* on X 2.24.24 *Affirmante* and *Saracenam* (ed. Venet. 1581 fol. 132va).

⁴³ Raymond of Penyaforte, *Summa de casibus poenitentiae* 1.7.7 and 2.6.11 (pp. 49, 225-26 of the Rome, 1603 edition). Cf. Johannes de Rupella, *Questiones super viciis*, BN lat. 16417 fol. 151-52.

tains an interesting allusion to Christian-Muslim syncretism. Yet it should be emphasized that Islam never became an important issue. The Catholic Church, unlike the Byzantine, never evolved a formula of abjuration for converts from Islam. In Byzantium, such a formula existed by the early tenth century if not earlier. It occasioned a major clash in the late 1170's between Emperor Manuel Comnenus and the high clergy of the realm, when the emperor attempted to delete from the formula an anathema of 'the God of Moámet', claiming that would-be converts — and he himself — considered it a damnation of God. In other words, Manuel regarded the God of Muhammad and the God he himself believed in as one and the same; it was the clergymen who insisted that Christians and Saracens did not believe in the same God. At one point, relates Nicetas Choniates, Manuel threatened to bring the question before the Roman pontiff⁴⁴ — and one is left to wonder how that great canonist, Alexander III, would have dealt with the issue, and how his pronouncement might have affected subsequent canonist discussion. Would he have ruled in accordance with Gregory VII's remark to the Muslim ruler al-Nāṣir b. 'Alannās, so often quoted in our own days, that Christians and Saracens believe in the same God 'licet diverso modo', or would he have adopted the stance of the same Gregory in letters to Catholic addressees, where the Saracens are referred to as 'pagani' or 'impii' and their religion summarily written off, together with the faiths of Jews and pagans, as 'ad nullam animarum salutem utiles'?⁴⁵ As it happened, the Byzantines reached a compromise on their own, and so it came about that the name of the Prophet appeared in the law of the Church only with the promulgation of the Clementines, which contain the anti-Saracen canon of the Council of Vienne.⁴⁶ But the

⁴⁴ Nicetas Choniates, *Historia* 7.6, ed. I. Bekker in *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae* 21 (Bonn 1835) 278-84.

⁴⁵ *Das Register Gregors VII*, ed. E. Caspar (Berlin 1920-23) 288 (letter to al-Nāṣir); 11-12, 39, 75, 128, 166, 346 (*pagani*); 421 (*impii*). *The 'Epistolae vagantes' of Pope Gregory VII*, ed. and trans. H.E.J. Cowdrey (Oxford 1972) 132 (for the evaluation of the non-Christian *leges* as useless for salvation). On Alexander III and Islam see J. Rousset de Pina, 'L'Entrevue du Pape Alexandre III et d'un prince sarrasin à Montpellier le 11 avril 1162. Notes sur les relations islamо-chrétiennes à la fin du XIIe siècle', in *Etudes médiévales offertes à Augustin Fliche* (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Montpellier 4; Montpellier 1953) 161-85.

⁴⁶ Clem. 5.2. For a discussion see E. Bussi, 'La condizione giuridica dei musulmani nel diritto canonico', *Rivista di storia del diritto italiano* 8 (1935) 479-88. The only commentary hitherto utilized for its references to Muhammad is the one by Joannes Andreae: A. d'Ancona, 'Il Tesoro di Brunetto Latini versificato', *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei. Memorie della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 285 (1888) 210; N. Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh 1960) 208.

fate of Muhammad in the Clementines and in the commentaries on them is a subject worthy of separate treatment.

Additional note. — The decretal to the archbishop of Tyre (note 19 supra) is now edited in S. Chodorow and C. Duggan, *Decretales ineditae saeculi XII*, from the papers of the late W. Holtzmann (MIC Corp. Collect. 4; Città del Vaticano 1982) no. 94 pp. 166-67.

UNGARISCHE MUSLIME IN JERUSALEM IM JAHRE 1217

In seinem *Mu'djam al-buldān* berichtet Yākūt über seine Begegnung in Aleppo mit ungarischen Muslimen, die dort um das Jahr 1220 ḥanafitisches Recht studierten.¹ Dieser Bericht, den Forschern der muslimischen Bevölkerungselemente des mittelalterlichen Ungarn wohlbekannt,² galt bisher als einziger Beleg für die Anwesenheit muslimischer Studenten aus Ungarn in den Ländern der Ayyūbiden. Doch darf man jetzt eine andere, lateinische Quelle hinzufügen, die das Vorhandensein solcher Studenten im ayyūbidischen Jerusalem im Jahre 1217 bezeugt.

Diese Quelle ist der Bericht des deutschen Pilgers Thietmar über seine Reise durch das Heilige Land. Thietmar, der im christlichen Akkon landete und sich als grusinischer Mönch verkleidet auf den Weg zum Sinaikloster begab, ist Ende 1217 unweit von Jerusalem von Muslimen gefangen genommen und zwei Tage lang außerhalb der Stadtmauer in Haft gehalten worden. Zu seinem Glück teilte er die Gefangenschaft mit einem ungarischen Adligen, der wußte, daß einige "sarazenische Ungarn" sich studienhalber (*obtentu studii*) in Jerusalem befanden. Er ließ sie zu sich rufen, und nachdem er von ihnen erkannt und freundlich empfangen worden war, erwirkten sie seine und Thietmars Freilassung.³

¹ *Jacut's geographisches Wörterbuch*. Hrsg. F. Wüstenfeld, I, Leipzig 1866, S. 469—70.

² Siehe, z.B., T. Lewicki, Węgry i muzułmanie węgierscy w świetle relacji podróżnika arabskiego z. XII w. Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusi al-Ġarnāṭī'ego. *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 13 (1937), 110; I. Hrbek, Ein arabischer Bericht über Ungarn. (Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusi al-Ġarnāṭī, 1080—1170). *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 5 (1955), 205, 212; S. Balić, Der Islam im mittelalterlichen Ungarn. *Südost-Forschungen* 23 (1964), 30; G. Székely, Les contacts entre Hongrois et Musulmans aux IX^e—XII^e siècles. In: *The Muslim East. Studies in Honour of Julius Germanus*. Hrsg. G. Káldy-Nagy. Budapest 1974, S. 71. (Ich möchte an dieser Stelle Herrn Dr. Jenő Szűcs, Budapest, für den Hinweis auf die zwei letztgenannte wie auch auf andere sachdienliche Werke freundlich danken.)

³ "Habui comitem Hungarum nobilem, qui sciuit quosdam conprouinciales suos Hungaros sarracenos obtentu studii existere Iherusalem. Quos fecit uocari. Quibus uocatis et agnitus ab ipsis amicissime receptus est. Qui dum intellexissent casum captiuitatis nostre partes suas interposuerunt, et labore non modico fecerunt nos expeditos." J. C. M. Laurent, hrsg., *Mag. Thietmari Peregrinatio*, Hamburg 1857, S. 26.

Die sich gegenseitig stützenden Aussagen von Yākūt und Thietmar bezeugen, daß es anfangs des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts ungarische Muslime gab, die das Bedürfnis empfanden, ihre Religion gründlicher kennenzulernen und deshalb die Schulen des Ayyūbidenreiches aufsuchten. Das scheint ein neues Phänomen gewesen zu sein. Noch in den Jahren 1150—1153 mußte der reisende Theologe aus Andalusien, Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī, den Muslimen Ungarns das Freitaggebet, die Predigt und andere Elementargebote des Islams beibringen.⁴ Abū Ḥāmid erwähnt zwar einen ungarischen Muslim der gut Arabisch sprach und ein Interesse am Abschreiben und Studium arabischer Bücher zeigte,⁵ aber vom Studium in den Ländern des Islam, oder von irgendwelchen unmittelbaren Beziehungen mit ihnen, weiß Abū Ḥāmid nichts. Er erwähnt auch nicht, daß ungarische Muslime seiner Zeit Träger hoher Staatsämter gewesen wären. Dagegen wird im dritten und vierten Jahrzehnt des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts öfters erwähnt, daß Muslime (und Juden) als Münzer, Salzbergwerkvorsteher und Inhaber anderer öffentlicher Ämter in Ungarn tätig waren.⁶ Es ist anzunehmen, daß ungarische Muslime, die solche einträgliche Ämter innehatten, im Stande waren, ihre Söhne zum Studium ins Ayyūbidenreich zu schicken. Ihr Aufenthalt im Orient war offenbar kein Geheimnis, da der ungarische Adlige, der mit Thietmar in Gefangenschaft geriet, von der Anwesenheit seiner sarazenischen Landsleute in Jerusalem von vornherein unterrichtet war.⁷

Studierten tatsächlich ungarische Muslime sowohl in Jerusalem als auch in Aleppo? Diese Möglichkeit besteht; aber man sollte auch in Betracht ziehen, daß vielleicht die selbe ungarische Studentengruppe von der einen in die

⁴ Hrbek, Ein arabischer Bericht, S. 208, 210.

⁵ *Abū Ḥāmid el Grenadino y su relación de viaje por tierras eurasiáticas*. Hrsg. u. übersetzt C. E. Dubler, Madrid 1953, S. 28 (Text), 66 (Übersetzung). Der Passus wurde nicht von Hrbek übersetzt.

⁶ Vgl., z.B., I. A. Fessler, *Geschichte von Ungarn*² I. Leipzig 1867, S. 344—48; Székely, *Les contacts*, S. 59. Ein diesbezüglicher Erlaß des Papstes Honorius III vom Jahre 1225 wurde in die *compilatio quinta* aufgenommen: *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae*. Hrsg. G. Fejér, III/2, Budapest 1829, S. 48—50 (= Po 7466); *Quinque compilationes antiquae*, hrsg. E. Friedberg, Leipzig 1882, S. 182. (Friedberg —und Potthast vor ihm —haben nicht erkannt, daß 5 Comp. 5.3 = Po 7835 mit Po 7466 identisch ist).

⁷ Thietmars Herausgeber vermutet, daß dieser Adlige mit dem Kreuzzug Königs Andreas II. von Ungarn nach Palästina kam: Laurent, *Mag. Thietmari Peregrinatio*, S. 26, Anm. 307. Über den Kreuzzug des ungarischen Königs siehe zuletzt J. R. Sweeney, *Hungary in the Crusades, 1169—1218* *International History Review* 3 (1981), 478—81. Der ungarische Priester Kosmas kam um das Jahr 1135 nach Jerusalem und lebte als Einsiedler in einer Zelle der Stadtmauer: Gerard von Nazareth, *De conversatione virorum Dei in Terra Sancta morantium*, c. 9, in B. Z. Kedar, *Gerard of Nazareth: A Neglected Twelfth-Century Writer in the Latin East*. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 37 (1983), 72; *Le cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem*. Hrsg. G. Bresc-Bautier, Paris 1984, S. 220.

andere Stadt gezogen war. Im März 1219 — also etwa 15 Monate, nachdem Thietmar die ungarisch-muslimischen Studenten in Jerusalem getroffen hatte — befahl der Sultan al-Mu'azzam, die Mauern Jerusalems zu schleifen, da er fürchtete, daß die Kreuzfahrer sich der Stadt in Kürze bemächtigen würden. In großer Bestürzung verließ die muslimische Bevölkerung die Stadt: einige flohen nach Ägypten, andere nach Damaskus.⁸ Es ist möglich, daß auch die ungarischen Muslime damals Jerusalem verlassen haben und nach Aleppo gezogen sind.

⁸ Abū Shāma in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Orientaux* V. Paris 1906, S. 173—74.

The Passenger List of a Crusader Ship, 1250: towards the History of the Popular Element on the Seventh Crusade

* The popular element played a conspicuous role in the First Crusade ⁽¹⁾. It occupied the foreground in the Peasant Expedition of 1096; during the Crusade proper, the *populus pauperum* was instrumental in preventing the disintegration of the crusading host after the initial successes in Northern Syria, and in ensuring the resumption of the march towards the Holy Sepulchre; the exploits of the Tafurs, the militant poor of the expedition, are celebrated in the *Chanson d'Antioche* and the *Conquête de Jérusalem* ⁽²⁾. In the accounts of the later crusades, however, the popular element is hardly mentioned. Medieval chroniclers and modern historians alike give the impression that in the later expeditions only noblemen and their retainers participated. As an eminent historian has stated recently, the Crusade became « l'affaire des barons » ⁽³⁾.

A verdict handed down by the bailiff and judges of Messina on July 30, 1250, necessitates a modification of this view about the later Crusades. The verdict, which settles a dispute between

(1) I would like to thank Professors J. Prawer and D. Jacoby, of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, for their helpful criticisms.

(2) On the role of the *populus pauperum* in December 1098, see RAYMOND D'AGUILERS, *Historia Francorum qui coeperunt Jerusalem*, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Occidentaux*, III, p. 270F. On the Tafurs, see L. A. M. SUMBERG, *The 'Tafurs' and the First Crusade*, in *Mediaeval Studies*, XXI (1959), 224-246. Cf. J. PRAWER, *Histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem*, transl. from the Hebrew by G. NAHON, I, Paris, 1969, pp. 215-216. On the poor crusaders in general, see W. PORGES, *The Clergy, the Poor, and the Non-Combatants on the First Crusade*, in *Speculum*, XXI (1946), 9-13.

(3) M. MOLLAT, *Problèmes navals de l'histoire des croisades*, in *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, X (1967), 350. For a similar view, see J. PRAWER, *Etude préliminaire sur les sources et la composition du 'Livre des Assises des Bourgeois'*, in *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, XXXII (1954), pp. 220-221. But see now J. RILEY-SMITH, *A Note on Confraternities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, in *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, XLIV (1971), 308.

the owners of the ship *St. Victor* and the crusaders who intended to travel on it to the East, gives not only the names of the four proctors who appeared in court on behalf of their fellow passengers, but lists the passengers themselves (4). This roll of names, which probably constitutes the earliest passenger list extant, affords a rare glimpse of a shipload of crusaders making for their destination.

Do the passengers of the *St. Victor* however qualify as crusaders? The verdict refers to them as *peregrini*, a term which at that time applied both to pilgrims and to crusaders, and indeed came close to signify passengers in general: « qui ès dit peregrí? », asks the *Libro del Consulado del Mar*, and answers: « he who pays passage for his own person, and for effects that do not constitute merchandise » (5). Fortunately, the nature of the dispute between the shipowners and the *peregrini* of the *St. Victor* leaves no doubt as to the latter's identity. The passengers contended that the shipowners had undertaken to take them to Damietta, or to another ultramarine port, or to the place at which the King of France would be at that time. The shipowners, for their part, claimed that they had agreed to take the passengers to Damietta only, and nowhere else (6). It is evident, then, that the *peregrini* on the *St. Victor* were crusaders, keen on joining the Egyptian expedition of Louis IX. Their original port of embarkation is not mentioned in the verdict, but the large number of crusaders whose surnames betray a Northern French origin, the virtual absence of surnames that might indicate Italian provenance, and possibly the names of the shipowners – *Guillelmus Mayo*, *Petrus Constantinus* (7) – point to Languedoc or Provence. At any rate, when they arrived in Messina, it was common knowledge there that

(4) *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, III, ed. J. DE LABORDE, Paris, 1875, pp. 103a-106a, to be read with the corrections on p. 770. An earlier transcription of the document appeared in J. L. A. HUILLARD-BRÉHOLLES, ed., *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, VI, Paris, 1861, pp. 784-790.

(5) « Tot home ès appellat peregrí qui do nòlit de la sua persona e de roba qui no sia mercaderia ». A. DE CAPMANY, ed., *Libro del Consulado del Mar*, Barcelona, 1965, p. 302.

(6) *Layettes*, III, pp. 103b, 105a.

(7) *Guillelmus Mayo*, a shipowner who is a citizen of Marseilles, appears in a document of 1248; the brothers *Bermundus* and *Marsellesius Constantinus* are mentioned in other Marseillais documents of the same year: L. BLANCARD, *Documents inédits sur le commerce de Marseille au Moyen Age*, II, Marseilles, 1885, Doc. 985, pp. 283-284; Doc. 540, p. 86. A *Petrus Constantinus* appears in the consular lists of Toulouse in the first quarter of the 13th century: R. LIMOUZIN-LAMOTHE, *La commune de Toulouse et les sources de son histoire, 1120-1249*, Toulouse-Paris, 1932, pp. 249, 252, 253, 306, 363, 366, 432, 438, 441.

Damietta had been lost and that King Louis was in Acre (8). Hence the crusaders demanded to be taken to that port, and sued the shipowners when these declined to comply. Contemporaneous maritime law favored *peregrini* who insisted on proceeding to their port of destination (9). Moreover, the judges of Messina must have been aware of the fact that their ruler, Emperor Frederick II, had assumed the posture of a fervent supporter of the French monarch's Crusade (10). It is therefore not surprising that the court ordered the shipowners to convey the crusaders *ad locum ubi est rex Francie* and to cover the trial expenses (11).

According to the passenger list included in the verdict, the *St. Victor* had 453 crusaders on board, not an unusually large number for that period. As far back as 1184 Ibn Djubayr, the Arab traveller from Granada, sailed from Acre to Messina on a ship carrying over 2,000 *balaghriyyūn*, i.e., Christian pilgrims; more than 800 passengers were on board the ship on which Louis IX returned from his Crusade in 1254 (12). It is true that these figures are recorded in narrative sources, but they are amply corroborated by official documents. In 1233 the commune of Marseilles permitted the Templars and Hospitallers to load and unload four of their vessels in its harbour every year: they were allowed to carry on each of these ships up to 1,500 *peregrini*, as well as an unlimited number of merchants (13). A Genoese contract of 1248 mentions the sale of 1,100 *plazas* (places) on a ship bound

(8) The latter fact is expressly mentioned in the verdict: *Layettes*, III, p. 103b.

(9) The chapters on *peregrini* in the Venetian statutes of 1229 and 1255 have been aptly summarized by M. MARGARET NEWETT, *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Year 1494*, Manchester, 1907, pp. 25, 27; for the parallel legislation at Marseilles see RÉGINE PERNOD, ed., *Les statuts municipaux de Marseille*, Monaco-Paris, 1949, p. 161.

(10) For this posture, see the directives which Frederick had issued in 1246 to his officials and subjects, and his letters to Louis IX and Blanche of Castile in the years 1249 and 1250: HUILLARD-BRÉHOLLES, op. cit., VI, pp. 465-467, 712, 745-750, 769-771. Cf. É. BERGER, *Saint Louis et Innocent IV. Etude sur les rapports de la France et du Saint-Siège*, Paris, 1893, pp. 243, 351-354.

(11) *Layettes*, III, p. 105b. — Röhricht — the only historian who has utilized the document, albeit partially — totally misunderstood the verdict; he believed that the shipowners were found liable because they had sent pilgrims to Louis IX: R. RÖHRICHT, *Die Deutschen im Heiligen Lande*, Innsbruck, 1894, p. 216.

(12) *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, ed. W. WRIGHT & M. J. DE GOEJE, Leiden and London, 1907, p. 310; French trsl. by M. GAUDEFROY-DEMOMBYNES, III, Paris, 1953, p. 364. On Louis' ship, JOINVILLE, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. DE WAILLY, Paris, 1874, § 15-16, pp. 8-10. For other figures from narrative sources see MOLLAT, art. cit., p. 352.

(13) The text of the treaty is printed in the *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1310)*, ed. J. DELAVILLE LE ROUX, II, Paris, 1897, pp. 462-464. On the Hospitaller fleet see J. RILEY-SMITH, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050-1310*, London, 1967, pp. 329-330.

for Syria (14). The statutes of Marseilles, compiled in 1253, spell out the method of computing the payments due to the overseas-traffic inspectors: with 10s. sterling for a *navis mille peregrinorum* as the basis of calculation, the actual dues might have been higher or lower according to the number of passengers on board (15). It is evident, then, that 1,000 passengers on board a ship was by no means exceptional by 1250. The number of passengers was considerably lower on vessels chartered by merchants for the transport of merchandise. Thus, out of five Genoese chartering contracts from the years 1250 to 1253, three specify that no more than 100 *peregrini* should board the vessel in question; the remaining two contracts limit the number to 50; all stipulate that the area between the main mast and the poop should be out-of-bounds for passengers (16).

Of the 453 passengers on the *St. Victor*, ten are heading groups of *personae* or *socii*. At least eight out of the ten were knights: five are styled *domini*, one is known to be a knight from other sources (17), and two were Knights Templar. The *personae* and *socii* – followers or retainers – total ninety in all. Their names go unrecorded: only the names of the leaders, and the number of their men, are given (18). Thus, the Czech *župan* Markwald, who heads the list, commands 36 *socii*, the largest single contingent on board. A chamberlain by the name of Delefit has 20 persons; *dominus Rober* (sic) *de Nuiti* ten, the two Templars, messengers on behalf of Richard, earl of Cornwall, are accompanied by nine persons; three men are leading groups of four persons each; while *dominus Theodericus de Vindibercli* (Windberg?) and *dominus Ulandus Mane* share three *socii* between them. Evidently the size of retinues varied considerably. Three *domini*, or knights, and one Knight Hospitaller, have no retainers at all. Nor do the seven clerics on board – five priests, one chaplain, one *clericus* – command a retinue.

(14) E. H. BYRNE, *Genoese Shipping in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, Cambridge, Mass., 1930, pp. 9-10. – On the meaning of *plaça*, *platea*, as ship-place, see *Libro del Consulado del Mar*, ED. CAPMANY, pp. 303, 527; A. JAL, *Glossaire nautique*, Paris, 1848, s.v. *platea*.

(15) PERNOD, op. cit., I. I, c. 35, p. 49.

(16) BYRNE, op. cit., Docs. XVIII, XXIV, XXVII, XXX, XXXIII, pp. 86, 95-96, 100, 107, 115-116. – In the 1380's, the number of pilgrims on the Venetian vessels bound for the Holy Land varied between 20 and 160 per vessel: NEWETT, op. cit., pp. 36-39.

(17) This is *Oliverius de Terrinis*, or *Terminis*, discussed below.

(18) The names of 14 other passengers are also unrecorded; in all cases but one, these are relatives of passengers whose names are listed.

In all, there were fourteen knights and group leaders, ninety retainers, and seven clerics on board. The remaining 342 passengers – 75.5 % of the total – were commoners who travelled on their own. The list does not reveal their exact social standing; however, several of them bear toponymic surnames which hint at burgess origin (19). At any rate, they were not a silent majority: all the four proctors, who represented the body of passengers before the court of Messina, were commoners.

This preponderance of the independent popular element on the *St. Victor* puts into question the prevailing view about the social composition of the latter-day crusading armies. It also undermines the notion that the sea-way to the East was a rich man's route (20). Indeed, at the time of the Seventh Crusade the fare to Outremer was far from exorbitant. In the early stages of the preparations for the Crusade, the emissaries of King Louis and the syndics of the Commune of Marseilles set the fares of the first, second, and third-class *plateae* on the ships ordered by the King at £ 4 *tournois*, at 60s. *tournois*, and at 40s. *tournois* respectively (21). This was in August 1246. By June 1248 the preparations for King Louis' Crusade reached their final stage, and the demand for maritime transportation to the East exceeded by far the facilities available in Provence and Languedoc: one French nobleman chose to order a ship from as far away as Scotland (22). And yet on June 20, 1248, Master Garnerius de Marinhino leased at Marseilles 200 third-class *plateae* at 45s. *tournois* a place, intending to sublet them to individual *pellegrini* (23). Just one month earlier, a sack of ship-biscuit sold there for 18s. *tournois* (24); at Paris, in that very year, the daily wages of a cook and of a tailor amounted to 2s. *parisis* (= 30d. *tournois*) and 8d.

(19) Stephanus de Bar super Albam, Henricus de Chaalons (sic), Petrus de Stampis, Stephanus de Stampis, etc.

(20) The notion has been advanced by MOLLAT, art. cit., p. 350.

(21) *Layettes*, II, p. 632b. – In 1268, the fares were considerably lower: 60s., 40s., and 35s., respectively, whereas fourth-class passengers would pay only 25s.: C. DE LA RONCIÈRE, *Histoire de la marine française*, I: *Les origines*, Paris, 1899, p. 279.

(22) MOLLAT, art. cit., p. 354. Alenard de Senaingan, a nobleman who joined King Louis at Caesarea, had had his ship built in Norway: JOINVILLE, § 493, p. 270.

(23) BLANCARD, op. cit., II, pp. 248-249, no. 914. – In this case, all three decks of the ship constitute the third class; according to the agreement of August 1246 the upper and middle decks constituted the second class, whereas the third-class places were situated on the third deck solely.

(24) Ibid., II, p. 187, no. 769. A pound of saffron – the locally grown product which was being exported from Marseilles to Ceuta, Bujaya, Valencia, Messina, Avignon, Cyprus and Acre – fetched 14s. *tournois*: ibid., I, pp. 412-413, no. 362.

parisis (= irod. *tournois*) respectively (25). Hence, even if one allows a 25 % profit for Master Garnerius (26), the resulting passenger fare – 56s. – would still equal only 112 daily earnings of a tailor and barely exceed the value of three sacks of ship-biscuit – all this in the sellers' market of the summer of 1248! Moreover, a needy *peregrinus* could work his way across the Mediterranean by serving on board ship: the passenger list of the *St. Victor* includes one *Pervit, famulus navis*.

The two striking facts about the 342 commoners on board are the incidence of sub-groups, and the number of women among them. There were 42 women on the *St. Victor*, i.e., 9.3 % of the total number of passengers, 12.3 % of the commoners. In other words, every tenth passenger and every eighth commoner was a woman. Fifteen accompanied their husbands; one travelled with her father, two with their brothers. A man and a woman are paired on the list, rather ambiguously, as *socii*; another woman, *Avilla Talosana*, may be related to *Bavillo Talosano*, whose name appears below hers on the list, although no relationship is indicated explicitly. However, the remaining 22 women have no male chaperons.

Is the presence of this sizable number of women exceptional? Wives had accompanied their crusader husbands to the Holy Land ever since the First Crusade, and the custom was legalized in 1200 by Pope Innocent III (27). Later decretalists went so far as to maintain that a wife might take the Crusade vow even without the consent of her husband. And about the time that the *St. Victor* set forth eastwards, Hostiensis wrote in his *Summa Aurea* that an elderly woman of good reputation might *fulfill* her Crusade vow in person, though her husband refuse to accompany her (28).

At the same time, Hostiensis voiced his objection to young and disreputable women going on the Crusade on their own. He advised that they redeem their vows and remain at home. But

(25) *Comptus praepositorum et ballivorum Franciae, de termino Ascensionis, A. D. 1248*, in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XXI, pp. 262-263.

(26) The Marseilles statutes of 1253 set the maximum legal rate of interest at 15 per cent *per annum*: *PERNOUD*, op. cit., I. II, c. 19, pp. 97-98.

(27) *X 3.34.8* = *P.L.*, 216, col. 1262. Cf. J. A. BRUNDAGE, *The Crusader's Wife: A Canonistic Quandary*, in *Studia Gratiana*, XII (1967), 434. – In the first half of the 13th century, an English bishop orders that all persons of his diocese, *cuiuslibet sexus*, who had taken the Crusade vow, should leave for their destination. F. M. POWICKE and C. R. CHENEY, eds., *Councils and Synods with other Documents relating to the English Church*, II, Oxford, 1964, p. 196.

(28) BRUNDAGE, art. cit., pp. 437-438; ID., *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*, Madison, Wis., 1969, p. 102.

reality was different. James of Vitry recalls with dismay that the sailors of the ship on which he made his way from Genoa to Acre in 1216, «were visiting their harlots who lay hid in the ship's bottom» (29). Joinville mentions the presence of prostitutes in King Louis' camp at Damietta; he does not dwell on the morals of the *bourjoise* from Paris in whose lap the exhausted King was laid after the debacle at Mansūrah (30). In 1260 the apostolic legate at Acre, Thomas Agni, urges the prelates of Friesland to discourage women from fulfilling their Crusade vows: for the way to the Holy Land is beset with dangers for them, as adultery and fornication occur frequently between *peregrini* of both sexes, along the road and on shipboard alike (31). He might have mentioned other dangers as well: for instance, thefts became such a habit among sailors, that the Mariner's Oath of Venice of 1255 refrains from prohibiting stealing altogether; all the sailor had to promise was that his pilfered goods should not exceed the value of five small *soldi* (32)!

Not only clerics and moralizers objected to the presence of women on eastbound vessels. In the very year in which the *St. Victor* was about to sail, several Genoese merchants stipulated that there be no woman among the *peregrini* who were to board the ship they had chartered (33). The same stipulation is repeated in five other contracts drawn during the years 1251 to 1253 (34). It is highly unlikely that the merchants were worried about morals; rather they might have been concerned about the fact that the women's need for privacy would prompt them to invade those parts of the vessel which were reserved for freight; or they

(29) «...visitantes meretrices suas, que in sentina latitaverant». *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry*, ed. T. F. CRANE, London, 1890, p. 130. This detail is not included in the parallel description of the voyage, which appears in one of James of Vitry's letters: *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*, ed. R. B. C. HUYGENS, Leiden, 1960, p. 82.

(30) JOINVILLE, § 171, 310, pp. 94, 170. Cf. § 505, p. 276.

(31) *Menkonis Chronicon*, ed. L. WEILAND, in M.G.H., *Script.*, XXIII, p. 549. As the legate's letter appears in a Frisian chronicle, one may assume that similar letters – *mutatis mutandis* – were sent to other parts of the West.

(32) «Juro bona fide sine fraude, quod navem et correda et avere quod erit in nave cuius sum marinarius, custodiam et salvabo; et in viazio isto non furabor nec furari faciam ultra soldos quinque denariorum Venetorum parvorum in ipsa navi». *Maritime Statute of 1255*, c. LI, in J. M. PARDESSUS, ed., *Collection de lois maritimes antérieures au XVIII^e siècle*, V, Paris, 1839 (repr. Turin, 1960), p. 35. – James of Vitry relates that the sailors stole the pilgrims' biscuit, victuals, and other effects: *Exempla*, loc. cit. See also DE LA RONCIÈRE, op. cit., p. 270.

(33) BYRNE, op. cit., Doc. XVIII, p. 86. The date is February 23, 1250.

(34) Ibid., Docs. XXIII, XXIV, XXVII, XXX, XXXIII, pp. 94, 96, 100, 107, 116.

might have feared that the presence of a few women among a large number of passengers, merchants, and mariners could spark off fights on board, jeopardizing ship and cargo alike (35). At any rate, the very necessity to include the prohibiting clause in the above contracts proves that, as a rule, *peregrinae* did embark on eastbound vessels.

Among the 22 unchaperoned women on the *St. Victor*, one is designated as the *socia* of another: *Guillielma de la Lande, Bernarda socia sua*. Is she her companion, or her maid-servant (36)? A similar ambiguity exists with regard to the four men who are described as the *socii* of *Elbert of Kessenich*. However, when passengers are designated solely as *socii* – that is, without the use of the possessive pronoun –, the existence of a hierarchical relationship between the *socii* may be ruled out. Already mentioned are the man and woman who were coupled together as *socii*; so were four pairs of men; and there was also a group of five *socii* on board. It is impossible to ascertain what their relationship was, but it is obvious that they had decided to keep company at least for the duration of the voyage. The same is probably true of the two pairs of men who are coupled in the list simply as *Moises et Johannes, Simon et Johannes de Mendres*.

In addition to these 26 male and female travelling companions, there are 45 passengers who are accompanied by one or two family-members. There are 15 married couples; one travels with a son, another with the husband's sister. Three brothers travel together, as do two pairs of brothers; one father is accompanied by his son, another by his daughter, a sister by her brother. Thus, 20.8 % of all commoners travel in small groups, mostly dyads, based either on kinship ties or on an artificial nexus. This tendency is not limited to commoners. *Joinville* went on the Crusade in the company of his cousin (37); and among the 50 knights of *Alphonse of Poitiers*, whose claims were settled in December 1252 in King *Louis*' camp off *Jaffa*, there was a father and his son, two *consanguinei*, and two *socii* (38).

(35) A. JAL (*Glossaire nautique*, Paris, 1848; repr. Turin, 1964, s.v. *femina*) supposes also that the stipulation may reflect an enactment by the Commune of Genoa.

(36) Cf. DUCANGE, *Glossarium*, s.v. *socia, socius*.

(37) JOINVILLE, § 109, p. 62. Cf. M. BLOCH, *Feudal Society*, transl. L. A. Manyon, vol. I, Chicago, 1964, p. 124.

(38) *Layettes*, III, p. 171b. The examples can be easily multiplied.

What could have been the objectives of the commoners on the *St. Victor*? Some might have aspired to join the retinues of the noblemen who had already arrived in the East: indeed, one of the passengers, Hernaudus de Gratia, is designated as a *serviens* (serjeant, or servant) (39). Crusader confraternities might have been the goal of a number (40). Others might have intended to follow the expedition as craftsmen or pedlars: indeed, three commoners bear the surname *Barbitonson* (barber), while two others are called *Sutor* (shoemaker). Some might have thought of settling in the East as peasants or artisans. It is true that as early as 1200 Pope Innocent III had advised the archbishop of Canterbury that of the craftsmen and husbandmen who had taken the Crusade vow only a limited number could gain their livelihood in the Holy Land, as both land and population were scarce there (41). The original destination of the *St. Victor* was however Damietta, not Acre: and Damietta figured in King Louis' plans as a bridgehead for the permanent conquest of Egypt (42). Indeed, Matthew Paris relates that the King brought with him to Egypt hoes, tridents, harrows, ploughshares, ploughs, and other agricultural implements; once Damietta was in his hands, « he was distressed by the fact that he had not enough people to guard and inhabit the territory which he had already occupied and that which he was about to seize » (43). It may be assumed that the King gave publicity to his concern, and that some commoners joined the expedition with the intention of settling along the Nile.

Other passengers on the *St. Victor* might have taken the cross under duress. In the thirteenth century, secular courts often imposed the Crusade as a punishment, whereas courts ecclesiastical forced it upon sinners as a measure of penance (44). In the clo-

(39) JOINVILLE relates that, while at Acre, he engaged several men: § 412, 415, pp. 224, 226.

(40) On burgesses in thirteenth-century Crusading confraternities, see RILEY-SMITH, *A Note*, pp. 301-308.

(41) X 3.34.8 = *P.L.*, 216, col. 1261: Weak and poor should not join the crusade, « nisi forte sint nobiles et magnates, qui suis secum expensis bellatores abducant: vel artifices, et agricolae, qui de laboribus suis sibi possint acquirere necessaria, et terrae subsidia ministrare: quamvis non multi talium, propter brevitatem possessionum et paucitatem inhabitantium ibi sint opportuni ».

(42) Cf. J. RICHARD, *La fondation d'une église latine en Orient : Damiette*, in *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, CXX (1962), 39-54.

(43) MATTHEW PARIS, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. LUARD, V, p. 107; VI, p. 163. Cf. PRAWER, *Histoire*, II, Paris, 1970, p. 326.

(44) P. A. THROOP, *Criticism of the Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda*, Amsterdam, 1940, pp. 95-98.

sing stages of the Albigensian Crusade, reconciled heretics were frequently compelled to take the cross: the victims of one Crusade had to take an active part in another. At the Peace of Paris of 1229, Raymond VII of Toulouse swore to take the cross and serve in the Holy Land for five years. Pope Gregory IX however prohibited the imposition of the *transitus transmarinus* on erstwhile heretics, as he believed that their Christianity was still questionable and consequently that they might be the bearers of heresy into the Holy Land (45). Pope Innocent IV reversed this decision, and went so far as to allow *condemned* heretics to go on the Crusade instead of suffering the punishment which had been imposed upon them in the first place (46). During his pontificate, the prelates of Languedoc contrived an intricate machinery for the control of the heretic-turned-crusader, a machinery propelled by an assortment of crosses corresponding to the gradations of former heretical behavior, directives specifying when these crosses should be worn (up to the moment of disembarkation in Outremer, and again from the time of re-embarkation), instructions regarding the conduct of the former heretic while in the Holy Land, and specifications of the letters-testimonial he was to present to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, or to one of the bishops of the Kingdom (47).

At least one of the passengers of the *St. Victor*, Oliver of Termes (48), had taken the cross in order to make amends for his role in the final flare-ups of the Languedocian resistance to the royal conquest. One of the most prominent *faidits*, or outlawed seigneurs who had lost their lands and castles because of their connections with heresy, Oliver supported Raymond VII almost to the end, submitting to Louis IX only in November 1228 (49). He played a most conspicuous role in the last attempt of the *faidits* to reconquer their ancestral fiefs in 1240, only to earn a legatine

(45) *Concilium Narbonense*, a. 1235, c. II, in *MANSI, Sacrorum Conciliorum... Collectio*, XXIII, col. 356-357; *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX e registris Vaticanis aliisque fontibus*, ed. A. L. TAUTU, Vatican, 1950, n. 220, pp. 296-297; see also no. 234, p. 313. The inquisition was introduced into the Holy Land in 1289: *Acta Romanorum pontificum ab Innocento V ad Benedictum XI*, ed. A. L. TAUTU, Vatican, 1954, no. 82, pp. 147-148.

(46) *Layettes*, III, p. 19a; BERGER, op. cit., p. 180.

(47) *Consilium concilii provincialis*, a. 1246, c. XXVI, XXIX, in *MANSI*, XXIII, col. 720-722.

(48) *Layettes*, III, p. 104b: Oliverius de Terrinis. HUILLARD-BRÉHOLLES (op. cit., VI, p. 787) reads: de Terminis. DE LABORDE, the editor of the third volume of the *Layettes*, regards *de Terrinis* a variant reading of *de Terminis*: see his Index, p. 689.

(49) *Layettes*, II, p. 144.

excommunication for his efforts (50). In 1241, and again in 1247, he submitted to the King; on the latter occasion, he took the cross, promising to bring with him four knights and twenty arbalesters at his own expense (51). However, in the passenger list of the *St. Victor* he appears at the head of only four men.

For Oliver of Termes, the passage on the *St. Victor* signalled the beginning of a brilliant career as a crusader. In December 1252 he was with King Louis at Jaffa (52); during the abortive raid on Bānyas in 1253 he saved the situation and rescued Joinville (53). His « zeal of devotion and faith » was extolled by Pope Innocent IV himself (54) – a considerable accomplishment for a man whom the archbishop of Narbonne had denounced, in the not too distant past, as an *impugnator fidei* (55). In April 1254 Oliver joined the King on his homebound voyage, but fearing that the ship might founder – this, at least, is Joinville's version of the event – he left the vessel on the high seas and returned to Cyprus (56). Only several months later did he resume his journey to France (57), where he was received as a personage of considerable importance (58). In 1265 (59) he was back at Acre, this time in the company of his nephews, and in the following five years he saw battle at Beisan, Montfort, and elsewhere (60). On July 29,

(50) GUILLEMUS DE PODIO LAURENTII, *Historia Albigensium*, in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XX, p. 766e; BERGER, op. cit., pp. 65-66.

(51) *Layettes*, II, pp. 449a, 450a; C. DEVIC and J. VAISSÈTE, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, Toulouse, 1872-1876, VIII, col. 1221-2; P. BELPERRON, *La Croisade contre les Albigeois et l'union du Languedoc à la France, 1209-1249*, Paris, 1959¹, pp. 383-4, 405, 414, 432.

(52) *Layettes*, III, p. 172a.

(53) JOINVILLE, § 578-581, pp. 316-318.

(54) « Tantus igitur fuisse zelus dicitur devotionis et fidei quem dilectus filius nobilis vir Oliverius de Terminis habuit ad negotium Jhesu Christi, exponendo se pro ipsius nomine innumeris periculis in Partibus Transmarinis... », *Les registres d'Innocent IV*, ed. E. BERGER, Paris, 1884-1921, no. 5393, p. 255.

(55) *Layettes*, II, p. 323a.

(56) JOINVILLE, § 16, 629, pp. 8, 344.

(57) According to Joinville, he returned only after a year and a half. Joinville's memory must have played a trick on him: already on August 20, 1255, Oliver had witnessed a treaty at Paris, *Layettes*, III, p. 256a.

(58) In the aforementioned treaty he appears immediately after the constable of France.

(59) According to the narrative sources, he arrived in Acre in 1264: ERACLES, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Historiens Occidentaux*, II, p. 449; *Chronique du Templier de Tyr*, ed. G. RAYNAUD, in *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, Geneva, 1887, p. 171; SANUDO, *Secreta Fidelium Crucis*, in BONGARS, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, II, Hanover, 1611, p. 222. However, there exists a letter by Pope Clement IV, commending Oliver's intention to go to the Holy Land, and the letter is dated June 24 (or 28), 1265: *Les registres de Clement IV (1265-1268)*, ed. E. JORDAN, Paris, 1893, no. 898, p. 352.

(60) ERACLES, p. 458; TEMPLIER DE TYR, pp. 183-184; *Annales de Terre Sainte*, ed. R. RÖHRICHT, in *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, II, 2^e partie (1884), pp. 451, 455; G. SERVOIS,

1270, he arrived at King Louis' camp at Tunis, and played a leading role in the desultory fighting that preceded the collapse of the Crusade a few weeks later (61). « Inflamed by the affection of pious devotion » (as expressed by Gregory X) (62), Oliver of Termes in 1273 once more set out for the Holy Land, this time at the head of a French contingent, 25 knights and 100 arbalesters strong, which King Philip III sent in aid of the Crusading Kingdom (63). At the time of his death, at Acre, on August 12, 1274 (64), no other French baron had equalled Oliver's crusading record.

Had this erstwhile *faidit* undergone a true conversion of the heart? Perhaps. But there is a distinct possibility that his reluctance to stay permanently in France – and perhaps also his prolonged sojourn in Cyprus in 1254 – stemmed from his uneasiness at living among people who remembered his questionable past; and, indeed, even in the late 1250's his *faidit* days are mentioned in an official document from Languedoc (65). To him, the brave holy world of the Crusades certainly offered a new start.

The forcing of the Crusade upon sinners may be regarded as symptomatic of the degeneration of the crusading idea: originally, the Crusade had been conceived of as a voluntary means of penance, not as a compulsory one. And yet the passenger list of the *St. Victor* discloses that even in 1250 there was still much genuine crusader feeling left in Christendom. Several dozens of the crusaders on the *St. Victor* came from various parts of the Empire (66), where the Crusade had been preached not against the Muslims,

Emprunts de Saint Louis en Palestine et en Afrique, in *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, XIX (1858), 123-124.

(61) *Chronique de Primat*, in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XXIII, pp. 51, 54-55; GUILLAUME DE NANGIS, *Vie de Saint Louis*, Ibid., XX, pp. 456-457.

(62) « Miles pie devotionis inflammatus affectu ». *Analecta Vaticana*, ed. O. POSSE, Innsbruck, 1878, n. 690, p. 54; see also nos. 695, 696, 719, pp. 55, 57.

(63) The contingent made its way on board of three galleys and one ship: R. FILANGIERI, ed., *I Registri della cancelleria angioina*, IX, Naples, 1957, p. 44. For the date of the arrival at Acre, see ERACLES, p. 463; SANUDO, p. 225.

(64) ERACLES, p. 466; according to SANUDO, p. 226, the date is August 12, 1275. – An Angevin letter of March 16, 1274, mentions that Oliver denounced Christian merchants who had carried iron and timber to Alexandria: FILANGIERI, *I registri*, XI, Naples, 1958, p. 204.

(65) *Exceptiones Carcassonensis quaerimoniis objectae* (ca. 1258), in *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XXIV, p. 548a; cf. pp. 307e, 608g, 570d, 581a.

(66) In addition to the Czech *župan* and his 36 companions, RÖHRICHT, who follows Huillard-Bréholles' reading of the list, identifies as Germans Theodericus de Vindiberti, Elbertus de Heressenic, Henricus de Sterlar, Oliverus Alamannus, Petrus de Cologna (*Die Deutschen im Heiligen Lande*, p. 126). One may add to this list two of the four proctors – Terricus Theotonicus, Johannes de Ala (Aalen, Württemberg, or Aelen, Vaud) – as well as Johannes de la Hala (Halle). It should be remembered, however, that toponymic surnames are not always reliable as indicators of origin.

but against Frederick II and Conrad exclusively (67). Again, in the wake of the assembly at Bermondsey (April 27, 1250), Innocent IV forbade the English crusaders to leave for Damietta without their king, since Henry III had asked him to do so (68); and yet there were a few Englishmen on the *St. Victor* (69). Above all, the presence of so many commoners on a vessel bound for the East in 1250 proves beyond doubt that the appeal of the crusading idea had not been confined to the upper classes of the day (70). As Rutebeuf was to write some twenty years later, *moult vont outre meir gent menue* (71).

It is true that the role of the popular element on the Crusades was diminishing. The fervor of the Shepherds of 1251 is reminiscent of that of the Peasants of 1096: but the Peasant Expedition of 1096 preceded the Crusade of the Knights, whereas the Shepherds' Crusade of 1251 was a mere reaction to the defeat sustained by the army of King Louis in Egypt. In 1098 the *populus pauperum* had its way, and the crusading army left Northern Syria for Jerusalem; in 1249, the *populares egentes* failed in persuading the magnates to accept the Sultan's offer to exchange Crusader-held Damietta for Muslim-held Jerusalem (72). Nevertheless, the salient fact is that the small people at Damietta were able to adopt a stand of their own.

(67) BERGER, op. cit., pp. 228-237.

(68) MATTHEW PARIS, *Chronica Majora*, V, pp. 103, 118, 134-136; *Annales de Theokesberia*, ed. H. R. LUARD, in *Annales Monastici*, I, p. 141. — BERGER (op. cit., pp. 347-348) believes that Innocent IV issued his order in the fall of 1250, after the defeat at Mansūrah had become known. However, both Matthew Paris and the Tewkesbury annalist record the papal prohibition before mentioning the debacle at Mansūrah.

(69) In addition to Riccardus Anglicus, one of the proctors, there are Thomas Anglicus, Rogerius Anglicus and his daughter, and Guillelmus Anglicus. It is true that they might have left England before the prohibition went into effect.

On English commoners of the late 12th century who had taken the Crusade vow but failed to fulfill it, see BRUNDAGE, *Medieval Canon Law*, op. cit., pp. 130-131. The text he quotes is more readily available in *Revue de l'Orient latin*, IX (1902), 307-309.

(70) The establishment, in 1247, of the Crusading confraternity of Châteaudun which was composed of the citizens of that town, points to the same conclusion. Cf. BERGER, op. cit., pp. 218-219, and now RILEY-SMITH, *A Note*, p. 307.

(71) RUTEBEUF, *La disputaison du croisé et du décroisé*, l. 186, in *Onze poèmes de Rutebeuf concernant la croisade*, ed. J. BASTIN and E. FARAL, Paris, 1946, p. 92. The *Disputaison* was written in 1268 or 1269; in 1267, the Patriarch of Jerusalem demanded that the ecclesiastical authorities in France and in Italy should ensure « que povres gens et veilles gens ne gens que ne fussent d'armes ne passassent de là la mer ». SERVOIS, art. cit., Doc. V, p. 293.

(72) MATTHEW PARIS, *Chronica Majora*, V, p. 106.

Ecclesiastical Legislation in the Kingdom of Jerusalem: The Statutes of Jaffa (1253) and Acre (1254)

SOURCES ON the ecclesiastical history of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem are sometimes encountered in unlikely places: an important letter which the papal legate Gilles of Tusculum sent in 1128 to Patriarch Bernard of Antioch appears in a codex of the Premonstratensians of Magdeburg; two twelfth-century treatises which significantly enhance our knowledge of Latin eremitism in the crusader East, are extensively summarized in a Protestant compilation of the mid-sixteenth century.¹ But the hitherto unutilized texts to which I should like to draw attention here—statutes promulgated by the papal legate Odo of Châteauroux in Jaffa in 1253 and in Acre in 1254—appear in a still more unexpected location, namely in Giovanni Domenico Mansi's *Concilia*.

These statutes of Odo of Châteauroux are of considerable importance for the ecclesiastical history of the Kingdom of Jerusalem; besides the acts of the Council of Nablus of 1120 they are the only extant acts of ecclesiastical legislation in the crusader East.² How did it come about that these statutes, despite their obvious accessibility, have been overlooked by historians of the crusades as well as by students of the life and works of Odo of Châteauroux?

My explanation for this double omission is simple, if somewhat disconcerting: Odo's statutes of 1253 and 1254 do not appear, as one would have expected, in Mansi's volume 23, which covers the years 1225 to 1268, but in volume 26, which deals with the period 1344 to 1409.³ There Odo's Palestinian statutes form part of a collection of thirteenth and fourteenth-century acts of the church of Nicosia; this is the result of Odo's instruction that the archbishop of Nicosia, as well as the other prelates of the Latin East, copy his statutes into the registers of their churches. Mansi found the Nicosia collection in the appendix to the eleventh volume of Labbé's *Concilia*, published in 1671 by Gabriel Cossart. Unfortunately Labbé and Cossart say only that they chanced upon the Nicosia collection in a *codex optimus*, thereby hardly facilitating the identification of the work they had used.⁴ Du Cange, who in his *Glossarium* of 1678 quotes at length from the Acre Statutes of 1254, gives a slightly different text than Labbé and Cossart, and therefore one should not rule out the possibility that Du Cange, too, consulted the *codex optimus*; however, the nature of the divergences suggests rather that he used the text of Labbé and Cossart and occasionally emended it.⁵

Odo of Châteauroux, the papal legate who promulgated the statutes of Jaffa and Acre, was one of the more prominent churchmen of his day. A professor of theology in Paris since 1220 or so who wrote a number of exegetical and doctrinal works as well as some 600 sermons, he became in 1238 chancellor of the University of Paris, in 1244 cardinal-bishop of Tusculum, a year later apostolic legate in France, and in 1248 apostolic legate for the entire crusader East.⁶ By 1253, when he issued the Statute of Jaffa, Odo had attained variegated expertise in handling church affairs. In 1245 he issued two series of regulations, the one for the chapter of Notre Dame in Paris, the other for the chapter of Sens. In 1246 he settled a dispute within the

Premonstratensian Order; issued statutes for the chapter of the church of Meaux; and resolved a conflict between the chapter of St Quentin and the Dominicans of that town. In 1247 he condemned the errors of a Parisian master of theology and withdrew his teaching licence; in May 1248, still in Paris, he condemned the Talmud; and in March 1249, already in Cyprus, he issued 22 statutes for the church of Nicosia.⁷ Odo's acts for the churches of Paris, Sens, Meaux and Nicosia are of use for evaluating the substance and the tone of the statutes he was to issue in Jaffa and Acre.

The Jaffa statute of 5 January 1253 deals with the vexed issue of the conversion of Muslim slaves. According to the custom of the Kingdom of Jerusalem—and, incidentally, according to the custom of Catalonia as well—a slave who converted to Christianity thereby attained free status. Consequently, crusader lords hindered the conversion of Muslim slaves, and even prevented them from listening to missionary sermons. In 1237 Pope Gregory IX wrote the patriarch of Jerusalem that slaves who genuinely wish to be baptized must be allowed to do so; at the same time the pope abrogated the Frankish *consuetudo terrae* which bestowed free status on converted slaves. A compromise between the Church's wish to spread the Christian faith and the Frankish lords' insistence on their property rights, Gregory's ruling probably influenced later legislation in Spain and Sicily; but in the Latin East its impact was slight. In 1238 Gregory had to rebuke the patriarch of Jerusalem for not having taken action upon receipt of his previous letter, and ordered him to compel the lords to permit their slaves to attend sermons and receive baptism.⁸ Yet this order, too, must have remained largely unheeded, for Odo's statute of 1253 reveals that the lords continued to hamper conversion. Like Gregory before him, Odo censures the lords who, because of their avarice, hinder the instruction and baptism of Saracens and other infidels and, like Gregory, orders that slaves be allowed to convert without gaining *aliquam libertatem* by the act of baptism. Going beyond Gregory, Odo expressly threatens obstructionist Frankish lords with excommunication. Odo evidently did not envision prompt compliance with his statute, for he ordered the prelates of the realm, *and their successors*, to read the statute publicly in their churches twice a year, and record it in their registers as well, so that no one could pretend ignorance of it. Odo's dim view of the likelihood of the lords' compliance was probably justified, for as late as 1298 a council of Nicosia had to threaten with excommunication 'all those who do not permit [the conversion of] male and female slaves who wish to be baptized without their [i.e. the lords'] prejudice.'⁹

The Statute of Jaffa, which virtually reiterates a previous papal ruling, Odo issued on his own authority; promulgating, in the summer of 1254,¹⁰ the more innovative Statutes of Acre, he underlined that he was doing so *de consilio et consensu praelatorum Syiae*.¹¹ Labb  and Cossart assume that Odo issued the statutes at a provincial council. Since both in the Statutes of Nicosia and of Acre Odo orders that each bishop celebrate a council at least once a year—in other words, that he comply with canon 6 of the Fourth Lateran Council—it is possible that the Statutes of Acre were indeed issued at a council. But in that case they would have been the enactments of a papal legate read in council, not the decisions of the council itself.

The Statutes of Acre attempt to abolish several customs of the Latin East. Luckily for us, Odo describes in considerable detail these *perversae consuetudines quae debent dici potius corruptelae*,¹² and thereby affords us several glimpses of parish practice in Frankish Palestine.

The first group of customs concerns cemeteries. At burials in the cemetery of St Nicholas at Acre, and in other cismarne cemeteries, canons or clerics refused to take part in the funeral procession unless paid a certain sum. When the relatives of the deceased wished to erect a stone monument, the clerics granted them permission only after having received a *litra* of oil or something else. Again, the man who built the monument, whether specially charged with such work or not, had to pass on one third or more of his earnings to the church to which the

cemetery belonged. Odo decries these customs, which obviously go beyond the legitimate bequests to a church, as abuses smacking of simony; the priests who perpetrate the last two he compares unfavorably with Ephron the Hittite who, though a pagan, at first refused to accept payment from Abraham in return for the Cave of Machpelah.

The second group of customs concerns baptism. Some priests demanded payments for baptizing a child, or for loaning the child a white garment for the duration of the ceremony. Also, they permitted a candle to be carried from the church to the house of the child's parents only after having received beforehand a surety that the candle would be replaced. Odo observes that none of these payments figures among the requisite offerings.

The third, and largest, group of customs pertains to betrothals and marriage. Some prelates demanded three *sous*, or one *raboin*, for attending a betrothal ceremony; 43 deniers, or some other sum, for granting a couple the permission to marry in front of a church; and a *ferculum*, or customary gift, and two vessels of wine, for celebrating the marriage service. While these customs are described only briefly – probably because they were common in the West, and popes and councils repeatedly dealt with them¹³ Odo devotes much space to a custom which seems to have been peculiar to the Latin East, namely the exaction, *by prelates*, of fines for the breach of betrothals. Odo relates that prelates extracted these payments, called *repentailles*,¹⁴ not only when the betrothed decided to break their engagement, but even when they did wish to get married, yet did not take the marriage vows by the date which had been specified at the time of the betrothal. Moreover, even when only one of the engaged changed his mind, the prelates often exacted a fine from both – a practice Odo condemns as cruel and avaricious.

Now, *repentailles* in the sense of a fine agreed upon by the parties to a betrothal, and paid by one party to the other in case of breach of promise, figure in the *Assises de la Cour des Bourgeois*.¹⁵ From the point of view of canon law this was an illicit fine, denounced by Pope Gregory IX in a decision soon incorporated in the *Decretals*.¹⁶ The exaction of such a fine by a *priest* was therefore, according to Odo's lights, particularly offensive: 'It is unbecoming that we should consider licit for us clerics', he writes, 'what we prohibit to others as bad and illicit'.

The last marriage custom Odo describes is presented as *abominabile et horribile*: after the conclusion of the nuptial ceremony, a cleric bearing blessed water and five lit candles¹⁷ makes his way from the church to the couple's abode, puts the candles under the couple's feet and receives, 'for so reprehensible a service', 12 deniers, or another payment. Not surprisingly, Odo considers this custom witchcraft.^{17a}

Besides describing the customs concerning burial, baptism, betrothal and marriage, Odo asserts that some priests and clerics maintain 'little women' (*mulierculas*) in their houses under the pretence that they are their maidservants, but rumor has it that some live in shame with them; others use their services to bring in stealthily other female company.

Odo prohibits all these customs and abuses and imposes penalties on transgressors. Henceforth, clerics maintaining unrelated women in their houses despite a superior's warning would lose their benefices; unbefooled clergy would be suspended or excommunicated. (Without saying so, Odo here follows closely canon 11 of the Third Lateran Council.) Clerics receiving payments for performing a betrothal, for granting permission for a marriage, or for celebrating the nuptial rite, would not be allowed to enter the church for 20 days – a rather mild penalty. However, clerics receiving *repentailles* would be *ipso facto* suspended from their offices; the punishment is especially stiff because this evil is deeply entrenched and very profitable and, as such, more difficult to eradicate. At the same time, in an effort to prevent the dissolution of betrothals, Odo instructs the prelates to impose penance on the party that breaks its promise.¹⁸

How do the statutes Odo promulgated in the Holy Land compare with those he had issued

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in France and Cyprus? In the statutes for Notre Dame of Paris, Odo remarks that he found there *aliqua corrigenda* and offered *remedia quedam parva*; the irregularities of Sens and Meaux are characterized as *quedam licet parva*. The language of the statutes of Nicosia is stronger: Odo speaks of the total neglect of the precept to hold yearly synods, the grave blame incurred by disregarding the legislation of the Fourth Lateran Council on education,¹⁹ and uses expressions like *non sine praeumptione damnabili et scandalo* and *nolentes Iesu Christi ignominiam sustinere*. But the tone of the Statutes of Jaffa and Acre is harsher by far: the lords who hamper conversion exhibit *inhumanitas seu impietas*; the clerics who receive unlawful payments sin against the sacraments and detract from the honour of the Church; the receipt for *repentailles* is hateful and dishonourable and rooted in avarice; its exaction is abominable and absurd.

Why this harsh language? Were the doings of the Frankish clergy of the Holy Land really that much more outrageous? A comparison of Odo's various statutes shows that the question of women living in the houses of clerics had occupied him also in Paris and Sens; in Nicosia, like later in Acre, he deals with customary payments at funeral processions, betrothals, and baptisms and, as we have seen, many of these payments were known in the West, too. It is true that in Nicosia Odo does not deal with *repentailles*, but on the other hand he condemns there payments for the ringing of bells for the deceased and for the digging of graves, payments which do not reappear in Acre. In short, the deeds of the clergy of the Holy Land were hardly more reprehensible than those of the clergy of Nicosia, and had numerous parallels in the West. Yet the comparison of Odo's various enactments reveals a crucial difference: while in his other statutes Odo intersperses the major violations among a large number of routine items, he treats in the Palestinian statutes nothing but grave offences.

But why did Odo deal in Nicosia with issues like the appointment of a dean in the city's cathedral and the proper way of guarding the chapter's seal, whereas in Jaffa and in Acre he gave his attention solely to major transgressions? I believe that the element of time explains this difference to a considerable extent. Odo promulgated the Statutes of Nicosia in March 1249, with little personal knowledge of the Latin East in which he had arrived only a few months earlier. The Statutes of Jaffa and Acre, on the other hand, were issued four to five years later and, in the meantime, Odo had had ample opportunity to observe the Franks of the Levant at close range – and to develop a westerner's disgust with them. About the time he issued the Statutes of Acre, Odo told Joinville, 'No one knows as well as I do of the shameful sins which are committed in Acre; that is why it must come about that God will avenge them by washing the city of Acre in the blood of its inhabitants, and then other people will come to live there'.²⁰ And in one of his sermons Odo observes that Christians who flee to *Outremer* hoping to find less opportunity to sin, discover there more occasions than at home, and where they expected to be sanctified they are further corrupted.²¹ This moral outrage at Christendom's dubious children, who resided in the Holy Land yet exhibited so little saintliness, finds expression in the tone and substance of Odo's Palestinian statutes.

NOTES

- I would like to thank the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung for a grant which enabled me to prepare this paper at the MGH in Munich in July 1983.
- Gilles's letter to Bernard of Antioch, as well as a fragment of his letter to the people of Antioch, appear in MS Cop. 375a of the Magdeburg State Archive; they were partially edited by Johann Peter Ludewig, *Reliquiae manuscriptorum omnis aevi diplomatum ac monumentorum ineditorum adhuc*, ii (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1720), 452-56. I intend to discuss these letters on a different occasion. For the treatises on Latin eremitism see my 'Gerard of Nazareth: A Neglected Twelfth-Century Writer in the Latin East. A Contribution to the Intellectual and Monastic History of the Crusader States', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xxvii (1983), 55-77.
- The first three canons of the Council of Nablus were recently discussed by H.E. Mayer, 'The Concordat of Nablus', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xxiii (1982), 531-43. The text of the canons printed in Mansi is faulty; I intend to edit the text from Vat. lat. 1345, fols. 1r-3r.
- Mansi, *Concilia*, xxvi, cols. 317-18, 343-7.
- P. Labb  and G. Cossart, *Sacrosanta Concilia*, xi, 2 (Paris, 1671), cols. 2376-441, containing acts of the years 1249 to 1354. The Statutes of Jaffa and Acre appear on cols. 2382-3, 2405-9; for the remark on the *codex optimus* see col. 2376.
- *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae latinitatis*, (Paris, 1678), s.v. *sercula, repentina*. While Labb  and Cossart have *phialas, praefigitur, consentiente, pecuniarium, evelli*, Du Cange has *ampullas, praefigatur, assentiente, pecuniariarum, eventi*. Jean Dauvillier, the author of a well-known work on marriage in canon law, utilized one of Du Cange's quotations, but was unable to identify the work from which the quotation derived. J. Dauvillier, *Le mariage dans le droit classique de l'Eglise* (Paris, 1933), 403, n. 2.
- For a sketch of Odo's life and works see M. Haur au, 'Quelques lettres d'Innocent IV extraites des manuscrits latins,   la Biblioth que nationale', *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Biblioth que nationale et autres biblioth ques*, xxiv, 2 (Paris, 1876), 204-35; M. M. Lebreton, 'Eudes de Ch teauroux', in *Dictionnaire de spiritualit *, iv, 2 (Paris, 1961), cols. 1675-8. For an incomplete—and occasionally inexact—list of Odo's works see P. Glorieux, *R pertoire des ma tres en th ologie de Paris au XIII e si cle*, i (Paris, 1933), 304-11.
- B. Gu ard, ed., *Cartulaire de l'Eglise Notre-Dame de Paris*, ii (Collection des cartulaires de France. 5: Paris, 1850), 404-6; M. Quantin, *Recueil de pi ces pour faire suite au cartulaire g n ral de l'Yonne. XIII e si cle* (Auxerre, 1873), 234-5; J. Le Paige, *Bibliotheca Praemonstratensis Ordinis* (Paris, 1633), 668-9; E. Mart ne and U. Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecditarum*, iv (Paris, 1717), cols. 889-90, 1078-80; C. H mer , *Augusta Viromanduorum vindicata et illustrata* (Paris, 1643), 231; H. Denifle and E. Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, i (Paris, 1899), nos. 176, 178, pp. 206-9; Labb , *Concilia*, xi, 2, col. 2400-5 (= Mansi, *Concilia*, xxvi; 337-42). The Nicosia Statutes have been partially summarized by G. Hill, *History of Cyprus*, iii (Cambridge, 1948), 1064-5, 1067. On Odo's role in the crisis of the University of Paris in 1229 see A. Callebaut, 'Le sermon historique d'Eudes de Ch teauroux   Paris, le 18 mars 1229. Autour l'origine de la gr ve universitaire et de l'enseignement des Mendians', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, xxviii (1935), 81-114.
- On the issue of slave conversion and Gregory IX's compromise, as well as for a re-edition of Gregory's letters, see my *Crusade and Mission. European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton, 1984), 76-8, 146-51, 212-15.
- For the decision of 1298 see Labb , *Concilia*, xi, 2, col. 2412 (= Mansi, *Concilia*, xxvi: 350A). It should be noted that already in 1249, in Cyprus, Odo adhered to the solution he was to espouse in the Statute of Jaffa. 'Die vero Epiphanie', he reports to Innocent IV, 'catechizavi quinquaginta VII. Saracenos captivos: qui licet deberent nullam libertatem assequi, prout illis expresse dictum est, tamen instanter petebant fidei sacramentum'. L. d'Ach ry, *Spicilegium sive collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum*, iii (Paris, 1723), 627b.
- On 6 Aug. 1254 Odo sent a copy of the Statutes of Acre to the archbishop of Nicosia, stating that they had been promulgated *nuper*. A copy of the Statute of Jaffa, promulgated on 5 Jan. 1253, was sent to Nicosia on 4 Mar. 1253. On 16 Sept. 1254 Odo was still in Acre: J. de Laborde, ed., *Layettes du tr sor des chartes*, iii (Paris, 1875), doc. 4121, p. 220. On Odo's role in the promulgation of the *Constitutio Cypria* of 1260 see Hill, *History of Cyprus*, iii, 1059-61.
- Labb , xi, 2, col. 2405D; Mansi, xxvi, 343B.
- The words *per pravam consuetudinem quae dicenda est corruptela potius* appear in a letter of Innocent III which made its way first into the *compilatio tertia* and then into the *Decretals*: 3 Comp. 5.14.4; X 5.31.11 (reworded: *quae corruptela dicenda est potius*). Innocent III labels bad custom as *potius corruptela* also in 3 Comp. 1.3.6 (X 1.4.7) and 3.1.4 (X 3.1.12). Innocent may have been inspired by the words of Nicholas I to Archbishop Hincmar—*Nam mala consuetudo quae non minus quam perniciosa corruptela vitanda est*—which made their way into the collections of Ivo and Gratian: *MGH Epistolae*, vi, 430, lines 3-4; Ivo, *Decr.* 4.203 in *PL*, cxi, 309D; Gratian, D.8 c.3. Nicholas, in his turn, was influenced by c. 1 of the Council of Sardica of 342 (or 343): *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima*, I.2.3, ed. C. H. Turner (Oxford, 1930), 452. I am indebted to Stephan Kuttner, my master in canon law, for the above information.
- Expressions similar to that of Innocent III in 3 Comp. 5.14.4 were used by Gregory IX and Ramon of Penyaforte: X

3.40.9; Raimundus de Pennaforte, *Summa de paenitentia*, 2.8.5, ed. X. Ochoa and A. Diez (Universa bibliotheca iuris 1/B; Rome, 1976), 563. Innocent's words re-appear in bulls of Boniface VIII and Benedict XI which denounce the exaction of payments for giving the nuptial blessing: *Reg. Bonifac. VIII*, no. 3721 (a. 1300), 5228 (a. 1303); *Reg. Benoît XI*, no. 975 (a. 1304). Cf. Dauvillier, *Le mariage* (n.5 above), p. 120.

¹³ Cf. Dauvillier, *Le mariage*, pp. 116-21. In addition it should be noted that canon 66 of the Fourth Lateran Council denounces clerics who 'pro exequiis mortuorum et benedictionibus nubentium et similibus pecuniam exigunt et extorquent': *Conciliorum oecumeniconum decretia*, ed. J. Alberigo et al. (third ed., Bologna, 1973), 265.

¹⁴ Labb 's text (col. 2408C = Mansi, col. 346B) has *repetailles*. But since the term obviously derives from *repentir*, and as a crusader law (see next note) has *repenaillies*, and a canon of a council of Coutances (see note 16 below) has *repentalitiis*, I assume that Odo's text had originally *repetailles*.

¹⁵ 'Assises des Bourgeois', c. 163, *RHC Lois*, ii, 112; for a better reading see J. Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980), 394, § CLX. It is possible that the preceding *assise* (c. 162 in *RHC Lois*, ii, 111-12; Prawer, p. 394, § CLIX) originally mentioned a payment of *repenaillies* to the Church. Prawer has observed (p. 394 note 13) that the *assise*'s rubric states 'quel paine devent paier a l iglise celuy ou cele por qui remaint que le mariage ne se fait', but the *assise* itself says nothing about this issue. Possibly the clause in the *assise* was dropped after Odo's enactment.

¹⁶ Potthast 9660: X 4.1.29; also the decision of Lucius III —JL 15165: X 4.1.17—the crucial part of which Odo quotes verbatim (Labb , col. 2407C; Mansi, col. 345AB). See also Raimundus de Pennaforte, *Summa de matrimonio*, 1.6, ed. X. Ochoa and A. Diez (Universa bibliotheca iuris 1/C; Rome, 1978), 907. A council which allegedly took place in Coutances decreed that 'non fiant sponsalia sive fidentialia cum repentalitiis, quia libera debent esse matrimonia, nec metu poenae adstringi'. Mart ne and Durand, *Thesaurus*, iv, col. 821. Cf. P. Gaspari, *Tractatus canonicus de matrimonio*, i (Paris, 1891), 38-40.

¹⁷ The text (Labb , col. 2407D; Mansi, col. 345C) has 'tenens quandoque candelas accensas in manibus'; but later, when the custom is forbidden, it is said, 'Et id quod de quinque candelis fit, in perpetuum reprobamus'. (Labb , col. 2408C; Mansi, col. 346B). Therefore I assume that *quandoque* is an erroneous reading of *quinque*.

^{17a} The custom of the five candles probably reflects some oriental influence. On the magical value of the number 5 in Islam, see I. Goldziher, 'Die Zahlen im mohammedanischen Volksglauben', *Das Ausland*, lvii (1884), 328-30; *idem*, ' ber Zahlenberglauben im Islam', *Globus*, box (1901), 31-2; both reprinted in his *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. J. Desomogyi (Hildesheim, 1967-73), ii, 129-31; iv, 261-2. See also *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new edn.), s.v. *Khamsa*. In personal communication, S.D. Goitein has suggested to me that the opening line of an epithalamium by R. Saadya Gaon – printed by H. Malter, *Saadia Gaon, his Life and Works* (Philadelphia, 1942), 337 – alludes to a ceremony in which candles of special sanctity were kindled in the course of wedding celebrations.

¹⁸ For some contemporary views on breach of betrothal see J.G. Ziegler, *Die Ehehre der P nitentialsummen von 1200-1350. Eine Untersuchung zur Geschichte der Moral- und Pastoraltheologie* (Regensburg, 1956), 92-94.

¹⁹ Odo remarks that the Cypriot prelates' negligence is still more reprehensible since, as a result of the great distance from the *studia* of the West, 'illuc ubi studetur pauci vel nulli de his partibus ire audeant sive possint'. 'Ordinationes Nicosie', c. 2, in Labb , col. 2401C; Mansi, col. 338D. This important testimony should apply *a fortiori* to the Holy Land.

²⁰ Jean, Sire de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly (Paris, 1868), 219.

²¹ '...fugiunt multi ad heremum ut egyptiaca vel ad monasteria vel ad partes ultramarinas, ut habeant minorem occasionem peccandi. Sed proh dolor aliqui plures inveniunt ibi occasiones peccandi quam in patria sua et ubi debent sanctificari a peccatis ibi amplius inquinantur'. BN lat. 15959, fol. 208rb; French translation in Haur au, 'Quelques lettres' (note 6 above), p. 220. Odo's sermon *Quando primo audita fuit captio Sepheti et trucidatio eorum qui ibi erant*, is printed in J.B. Pit , *Analecta novissima spicilegii Solesmensis*, ii (Frascati, 1888), 283-87; exhortations to take the cross appear on pp. 310-15, 328-33. According to L opold Delisle, MS 876 of the Biblioth que municipale of Arras contains Odo's *Sermo in anniversario Roberti, comitis Atrebatis, et aliorum nobilium qui interfici fuerunt a Sarracenis apud Mansoram in Egypto* (No. 100 in the collection of sermons brought together in that MS) and another *Sermo de eodem anniversario* (No. 101). L. Delisle, review article of Pit , *Analecta novissima*, vol. 2, in *Biblioth que de l'Ecole des Chartes*, xlix (1888), 272.

THE SUBJECTED MUSLIMS OF THE FRANKISH LEVANT

THE PHASE OF LATIN RULE over subjected Muslims had a different long-term significance in the western and central Mediterranean on the one hand and in the Levant on the other. In the Iberian peninsula and Sicily, the Latin conquest ushered in the crucial stage in the history of the local Muslims at the end of which they were to disappear completely. By comparison, Frankish rule over Levantine Muslims constituted a relatively brief episode, which ended in Muslim triumph and the total eradication of the Frankish population. At most this episode may be considered to have lasted from the conquest of Antioch in 1098 to the fall of Acre in 1291, but when specific localities are considered, its duration was shorter still: for instance, Antioch was Frankish from 1098 to 1268, Tyre from 1124 to 1291, Caesarea from 1101 to 1187 and from 1191 to 1265, Jerusalem from 1099 to 1187 and from 1229 to 1244, and Nablus from 1099 to only 1187. Moreover, the Franks came repeatedly under attack by outside Muslim powers and suffered several setbacks at their hands, and therefore their rule was much more precarious than that of the Latin conquerors of Spain and Sicily. This precariousness resulted primarily from the adverse geopolitical situation of the Frankish states in the Levant, established as they were in the midst of

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Oriental Islam, but also from the limited influx of Catholic Europeans which markedly differed from the considerable immigration to the closer and safer regions wrested from the Muslims in the western and central Mediterranean. A further characteristic of the Frankish Levant was its origin in, and permanently close linkage with, Christian holy warfare. The religious factor was, of course, also present in Sicily and Spain—Pope Gregory VII exhorted Count Roger of Sicily to extend “the worship of the Christian name” among the pagans (the Muslims), and Pope Urban II urged the first Latin archbishop of Toledo, Bernard of Sédirac, “to endeavor by word and example to convert, with God’s grace, the infidels to the faith”¹—but it was only in the Levant that Latin states came into being as a result of a papally conceived and initiated military expedition whose declared aims were religious, namely, to put an end to Infidel defilement of the Holy Places and to liberate Oriental Christians from the Infidel yoke.

Short and precarious duration, limited European immigration, and linkage to holy warfare are some of the major peculiarities of the Frankish Levant. An examination of the subjected Levantine Muslims in the framework of a comparative perspective calls, therefore, for an assessment of the extent to which these and other peculiarities shaped the fate of these Muslims differently from that of subjected Muslims elsewhere in the Mediterranean. But since the evidence on these Levantine Muslims, some of which has come to light rather recently, is less well known than that on their Sicilian or Spanish coreligionists, a somewhat extensive presentation of the documentation must come first.²

¹ *Das Register Gregors VII*, ed. E. Caspar (1920), in *MGH Epp.* 2, 1:272; D. Mansilla, ed., *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III (965-1216)*, *Monumenta Hispaniae Vaticana, Registros 1* (Rome, 1955), doc. 27, p. 44, and docs. 45, 101, pp. 65, 121. For the context, see my *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton, 1984), pp. 42-57.

² There is no monograph on the Levantine Muslims subjected to Latin rule. The most recent discussions are Joshua Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (London, 1972), pp. 47-52; idem, “Serfs, Slaves and Bedouin,” in *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 201-14; idem, “Social Classes in the Latin Kingdom: The ‘Minorities,’ ” in *A*

Documentation and Reality

The collapse of the Frankish states of the Levant entailed the destruction of most archives. The narrative sources also yield little information. The Frankish chroniclers, focusing on political developments, refer to the fate of the Muslims at the time of the crusader conquest, but have very little to say about them thereafter. All but one of the Muslim chroniclers lived beyond the boundaries of the Frankish states. To be sure, Ḥamdān b. ‘Abd al-Rahīm al-Āthāribī (ca. 1071–1147/48), the one Muslim chronicler who did live within these boundaries, was eminently qualified to write on Muslims under Frankish rule, as he himself made a remarkable career both under Frankish and Muslim rulers. It is symptomatic, however, that Ḥamdān’s *History of the Franks who came forth to the Land of Islam*, like the one Frankish attempt to write a history of the Muslim East—William of Tyre’s *Historia orientalium principum*—has not survived, and only quotations from it appear in some later works.³ Other Muslim chroniclers bring somewhat more details than their Frankish counterparts on the fate of their coreligionists during the crusader conquest; interestingly enough, their accounts are occasionally less gruesome than those of the Franks.⁴ The

History of the Crusades, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, 6 vols. (1955–89), 5:61–65, 101–15; H. E. Mayer, “Latins, Muslims and Greeks in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem,” *History* 63 (1978): 175–92; J. Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, trans. J. Shirley (Amsterdam, 1979), pp. 130–36 (this is an updated version of the French original); Claude Cahen, *Orient et Occident au temps des croisades* (Paris, 1983), chap. 13, pp. 167–70.

³ On Ḥamdān b. ‘Abd al-Rahīm, see Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris, 1940), pp. 41–42, 343–44, 405, n. 2, 540, n. 45; F. Rosenthal, *History of Muslim Historiography*, 2d ed. (Leiden, 1968), pp. 62, 466. The publication of the fragments of Ḥamdān’s chronicle remains a desideratum. On William of Tyre’s lost work, see H. Möhring, “Zu der Geschichte der orientalischen Herrscher des Wilhelm von Tyrus,” *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 19 (1984): 170–83.

⁴ Cf., e.g., the accounts of the Frankish conquest of Tripoli in 1109: Roger Le Torneau, *Damas de 1075 à 1154, Traduction annotée d'un fragment de l'Historie d'Ibn al-Qalānī* (Damascus, 1952), p. 86; Ibn al-Āthīr, *RHC. Or.*, 1: 274; Fulcheri Carnotensis *Historia Hierosolymitana* (1095–1127), ed. H. Hage-

Muslim chroniclers also refer far more often to the activities of the subjected Muslims during Saladin's reconquest campaign. But they, too, concentrate on political developments and therefore shed little light on the internal affairs of the Muslims who lived under Frankish rule. Only one Arabic narrative deals exclusively with subjected Muslims. This is the short account by Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Muqaddasī (1173–1245) of the flight of Ḥanbalī peasants from the Nablus area to Damascus from the 1150s on; however, it reflects the attitudes of a tiny, radical minority. In addition, there were a few Muslim visitors to the Frankish states who wrote down their impressions and, like other travelers of that age, tended to report in considerable detail on the kinsmen they encountered. Consequently, a substantial part of our knowledge about the subjected Muslims of the Frankish states derives from the account of a single Muslim traveler, Ibn Jubayr of Granada, who was in the kingdom of Jerusalem for just thirty-two days, thirteen of which he spent on a ship in Acre harbor, waiting for a favorable wind.

On the whole, then, the evidence is sketchy; the secondary literature is, perhaps, even more meagre than the sources warrant. Because of the haphazard nature of the documentation, modern historians often find themselves constrained to generalize from a single testimony. For instance, mosques in full Muslim possession are attested for just one town of the kingdom of Jerusalem, namely Tyre. Does it follow, therefore, that elsewhere in the kingdom mosques and public Muslim worship were not permitted? Some historians have been inclined to think so.⁵ But we should recall that the Muslim-owned mosques of Tyre are mentioned only in the account of Ibn Jubayr, who visited just two towns, Tyre and Acre. In Tyre he rested in a mosque that remained in Muslim hands and learned about others which were in their possession; in Acre he saw a small oratory in the erstwhile main mosque where Muslims

meyer (Heidelberg, 1913), p. 533; Albert of Aachen, in *RHC. Occ.*, 4:668–69.

⁵ See Mayer, "Muslims," pp. 185–86; and, less definitely, Cahen, *Orient*, p. 167.

from outside the town could "congregate to perform the obligatory prayers," as well as the mosque at 'Ayn al-Baqar, in Frankish possession and with a Frankish-built eastern apse, where Muslims and Christians assembled to pray, each in the customary direction.⁶ Had Ibn Jubayr not visited them, we should not have known of the existence of the Tyre mosques as well as of the oratory in Acre's former main mosque.⁷ Had he visited even one other town, the information at our disposal might have been quite different. By the same token, if Ibn Jubayr had been our only source on Frankish hospitals, the only ones known would have been those he mentions having seen in Acre and Tyre. In these circumstances, then, it is rather risky to generalize from the data available.

One could approach the problem from a different angle, by examining the statement on the restoration of the Islamic cult after Saladin's reconquest in 1187. The most detailed information is to be found in the florid account of Saladin's secretary, 'Imād al-Dīn. In Acre, he says, prayer took place on the first Friday after the battle of Hattīn and the "interrupted custom" was reestablished; at Nablus the call to prayer was restored; in Sidon the Friday public prayer was reestablished; and so forth.⁸ But what are the facts behind these statements? Are we to conclude that, under the Franks, there were no mosques in any of these places and the Muslims were not able to worship publicly? Possibly, but not necessarily, for Muslim worship under Christian rule could assume various forms. Let us turn to Ibn Jubayr's account about the Muslims of Sicily. Ibn Jubayr stayed in Sicily from December 9, 1184, to March 25, 1185, about four times longer than he did in the kingdom of Jerusalem, and

⁶ Tyre: *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, trans. R. J. C. Broadhurst (London, 1952), p. 321; Acre: *ibid.*, p. 318. (The Arabic original states explicitly that the Muslims of Tyre owned several mosques in addition to the one in which Ibn Jubayr took his rest.)

⁷ The mosque at 'Ayn al-Baqar outside of Acre is also mentioned by 'Alī al-Harawī, *Guide des lieux de pèlerinage*, trans. Janine Sourdel-Thomine (Damascus, 1957), p. 57.

⁸ 'Imād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī, *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Saladin*, trans. Henri Massé (Paris, 1972), pp. 33, 36, 40; see also 'Imād al-Dīn, in Abū Shāma, *RHC. Or.* (Paris, 1895), 4:309.

during this time he gathered detailed information and changed his initially favorable opinion on the situation of the local Muslims. In Palermo, he says, there was a *qādī* to judge the Muslims, teachers of Koran, countless mosques, and the call to prayer was distinctly heard, but the Muslims were unable to hold public prayer on Fridays, as they were not allowed the *khutba* (the address which includes a prayer for the well-being of the Muslim sovereign and all the faithful, and constitutes a condition for the validity of the Friday prayer). Only on the days of festival could Muslims perform the public prayer with a *khutba* in which the name of the 'Abbāsid caliph was invoked.⁹ Consequently, distinctions must be made between the continued existence of a mosque, the public call to prayer (which was formally forbidden throughout Latin Christendom in 1311), the gathering in a mosque, and the Friday prayer with the *khutba*. 'Imād al-Dīn's statements could therefore have referred to anything from the reintroduction of Muslim worship as such to the performance of the Friday prayer with all its politico-religious dimensions. In fact, while 'Imād al-Dīn exulted at the restoration of the call to prayer at Nablus, another Muslim author, Ḍiyā' al-Dīn, related that under Frankish rule Ḥanbalī Muslim peasants of the Nablus region used to gather in the village of Jammā'il for Friday prayers at which the *khutba* was delivered.¹⁰

⁹ *Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, pp. 340, 348–49. On his change of opinion, see Michele Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, ed. C. A. Nallino (Catania, 1937), 3,1:541–42, who, however, somewhat misunderstood the limitations on the *khutba* (p. 543); for a correct appraisal, see Dietlind Schack, *Die Araber im Reich Rogers II* (Berlin, 1969), pp. 42–43.

¹⁰ Ḍiyā' al-Dīn, *Sabab hijrat al-Maqādisa ilā Dimashq*, in Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Ali, al-Qalā'id al-jawhariyya fi ta'rīkh al-Ṣālihiyya*, ed. M. A. Duhrmān, 2 vols. (Damascus, 1980), 1:68; partial English translation in Joseph Drory, "Hanbalis of the Nablus Region in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in *The Medieval Levant: Studies in Memory of Eliyahu Ashtor (1914–1984)*, eds. B. Z. Kedar and A. L. Udovitch (Haifa, 1988), p. 95. As Ḍiyā' al-Dīn (in Ibn Ṭūlūn, 1:69) mentions land which belonged to the mosque of Jammā'il, one may assume that the mosque remained intact and that the Friday prayers took place in it. (I am indebted to my student Muḥammad al-Hajjūj for having drawn my attention to this passage.) For a similar conjecture on the fate of mosques in the Frankish Levant, see Joshua Prawer,

Only one *qādī* is mentioned in the documentation. This has been taken as proof that, as a rule, the subjected Muslims had no *qādīs*, just as they had no mosques. But let us examine more closely the circumstances under which this single *qādī* makes his appearance. Muslim chroniclers of Saladin's 1188 campaign in northern Syria report that Mansūr b. Nabil, the *qādī* of the harbor town of Jabala, appeared in the sultan's camp and urged him to advance on his hometown. Ibn al-*Athīr* reports that the *qādī* had been a confidant of Bohemond III of Antioch and exercised authority over all the Muslims of Jabala and its surroundings, indeed of the entire Principality of Antioch, but religious zeal moved him to offer Saladin help in the reconquest of Jabala, Laodicca, and other northern towns. When Saladin appeared under the walls of Jabala the *qādī* handed over the town to him and then negotiated the surrender of the Franks who had taken refuge in the citadel. He took Frankish hostages who were to remain in his hands until Bohemond released the Muslim hostages he had taken from him earlier—a procedure which suggests, incidentally, that the relationship between the two was less straightforward than initially stated. Later, the *qādī* was instrumental in bringing about the capitulation of Laodicca. Saladin, reports 'Imād al-Dīn, heaped eulogies and honors on the *qādī*, instituted a pious foundation in his name, guaranteed the possessions of his family, and appointed him to fulfill administrative and judicial functions.¹¹

The name of Mansūr b. Nabil, *qādī* of Jabala, has evidently been preserved only because of his significant role in Saladin's

The History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (Oxford, 1988), p. 106, n. 43.

¹¹ Ibn al-*Athīr*, in *RHC. Or.*, 1:717–19; 'Imād al-Dīn, in *Abū Shāma, RHC. Or.*, 4:352–53, 357–58. Bahā al-Dīn ascribes to the *qādī* a less prominent role (*RHC. Or.* [Paris, 1894], 3:110–11; 4:355–56). (I would like to thank Etan Kohlberg of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem for having checked the translation of these and other passages.) For discussion, see René Grousset, *Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1935), 2:825–26; Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, pp. 428, 462; idem, "La féodalité et les institutions politiques de l'Orient latin," *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Atti del XII Conregno "Volta"* (Rome 1957), p. 186, repr. in idem, *Turcobyzantina et Oriens christianus* (London, 1974), chap. G, p. 186.

reconquest of Jabala and Laodicca, a role unparalleled throughout the Latin states. The mere fact that he was a *qādī* would hardly have warranted mention, as neither Muslim nor Frankish chroniclers (or jurisprudents) exhibited an interest in the judicial or, for that matter, any other internal arrangements of the subjected Muslim population. (Nor do they mention the judicial arrangements of the subjected Jews; were it not for the Jewish *responsa* literature, the existence of rabbinical courts in the Frankish kingdom of Jerusalem would have remained unknown.) Moreover, Mansūr's sudden emergence in the documentation must not be taken to indicate that his unique status in the Principality of Antioch was a recent innovation, or an outgrowth of Bohemond III's imprudent Muslim policy, "by which the elite of the Frankish society uncontrollably abandoned itself to its sympathies toward the indigenous."¹² Rather, Mansūr's status may have been at least partially traditional. In the latter part of the eleventh century, when Jabala was under Byzantine rule, another man named Mansūr served as headman of the local Muslims and judged cases which came up among them. Mansūr's son, the *qādī* Abū Muḥammad 'Ubayd Allah, ruled the town at the turn of the twelfth century. He exhibited a distinct taste for martial activities, repulsing several Frankish attacks, but in 1101 he felt constrained to call upon the Damascenes for help and then left the town. A few years later, the *qādī* Ibn 'Ammar of Tripoli seized Jabala and ruled it until Tancred's conquest in 1110, a conquest which appears to have been mild.¹³ It is symptomatic for the history of the Muslims subjected to Frankish rule that nothing is known of the Muslims of Jabala in the period between the departure of the *qādī* Ibn 'Ammar after his surrender in 1110 and the activities of the *qādī* Mansūr b. Nabil in 1188. Possibly, then, there were *qādīs* in the intervening period, too.

These two examples should suffice to illustrate how risky it can be to equate a single mention in the documentation on the

¹² Grousset, *Histoire*, 2: 826.

¹³ Ibn al-Athīr, in *RHC. Or.*, 1: 204–6, 256, 274; see also Ibn al-Qalāniṣī, p. 87.

subjected Muslims with a single occurrence in reality. It is preferable to concede that the history of these Muslims, of so little interest to their contemporaries, remains in many important respects unknown, and to present as fully as possible the meagre data on which tentative approximations of their history may be founded. On the positive side, one may note that the documentation, especially that written in Arabic, is not necessarily finite. Less than fifty years ago Claude Cahen brought Ḥamdān b. 'Abd al-Rahīm to the attention of historians of the Crusades, and only about two decades ago Emanuel Sivan first utilized the account about the exodus of Ḥanbālī villagers from the Nablus area.¹⁴

The Frankish Conquest and the Modes of Muslim Existence

For reasons spelled out above, one of the relatively well-documented facets of the history of the subjected Levantine Muslims is their fate during the Frankish conquest. The sources warrant the generalization that the mode of Frankish takeover largely determined their fate in each case. When a town was taken by assault, Muslim and Jewish inhabitants were usually massacred or enslaved. The best-known example is Jerusalem, stormed on July 15, 1099, where, as a Frankish eyewitness puts it, "some of the pagans were mercifully beheaded, others pierced by arrows plunged from towers, and yet others, tortured for a long time, were burned to death in searing flames. Piles of heads, hands, and feet lay in the houses and streets, and indeed there was a running to and fro of men and knights over the corpses."¹⁵ Similar scenes occurred in other towns stormed by the Crusaders, such as Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān in 1098, Haifa in 1100, Caesarea in 1101, Beirut in 1110, and Bilbays in 1168.

¹⁴ For Ḥamdān b. 'Abd al-Rahīm, see n. 3 above; on the Ḥanbālīs, see E. Sivan, "Réfugiés syro-palestiniens au temps des croisades," *Revue des études islamiques* 35 (1967): 138–39; and Drory, "Hanbālīs," pp. 93–112.

¹⁵ Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, trans. John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Philadelphia, 1968), p. 127.

The massacres were hardly ever total, however. In Jerusalem, for example, the Fātimid commander was allowed to depart with his garrison swelled by civilians, while other Jerusalemites were left alive and forced to dump the corpses of their fellow citizens beyond the city walls. The Cairo Geniza reveals that some Qaraite Jews were ransomed by their coreligionists. Muslim sources relate that the Franks took captive Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Rumaylī, the most celebrated Palestinian *hadīth* expert of his age and author of tracts on the merits of Jerusalem and Hebron, and offered to set him free for a ransom of one thousand dinars. When the money was not forthcoming, they stoned him to death.¹⁶ Elsewhere, too, some survivors of crusader massacres succeeded in reaching Muslim territory, while others were taken captive.¹⁷

Fear of massacre led some Muslims to flee for safety even before the advent of the Crusaders. The two regional capitals of Ramla and Tiberias were deserted when the Franks entered them in 1099, and the same was true of Jaffa, the region at the southern edge of the Dead Sea, and some Syrian localities. Probably some of the refugees returned to their hometowns with the consolidation of Frankish rule.

The third mode of takeover, following a formal act of surrender, was equally bloodless and did not entail Muslim dislocation. Nablus was the earliest instance. A few days before the fall of Jerusalem, the crusader leaders Tancred and Eustache of Boulogne went on a foraging expedition during the course of which they reached Nablus. The Muslim inhabitants fled to the

¹⁶ On the dumping of corpses, see e.g., *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. K. Mynors, trans. Rosalind Hill (London, 1962), p. 92. The Geniza evidence has been summarized, for the English-reading public, by S. D. Goitein, "Geniza Sources for the Crusader Period: A Survey," in *Outremer. Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem Presented to Joshua Prawer*, eds. B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer, and R. C. Smail (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 308–12. On Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Rumaylī, see Rosenthal, *History*, pp. 464, 468; E. Sivan, "The Beginnings of the *Fadā'il al-Quds* Literature," *Israel Oriental Studies* 1 (1971): 264. The primary sources, all in Arabic, are listed by Moshe Gil, *Palestine during the First Muslim Period (634–1099)*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv, 1983), 1: 350, n. 630 (in Hebrew).

¹⁷ Evidence summarized by Sivan, "Réfugiés," p. 136.

Turkish-garrisoned castle leaving the Franks free to pillage the town, though native Oriental Christians dissuaded them from setting it on fire. Thereupon the inhabitants who had taken refuge in the castle promised Tancred and Eustache that they would hand Nablus over to them should the Crusaders conquer Jerusalem. True to their word, after the fall of Jerusalem they sent messengers to announce that the Turks had left Nablus and that Tancred and Eustache were welcome to take possession of it.¹⁸ It is probable that Tancred, a Norman from southern Italy, played the leading role. After the conquest of Jerusalem, Tancred attempted to take Muslim prisoners, but could not prevail against the objections of the other crusader chieftains.¹⁹ A few days after this setback, Tancred was instrumental in setting the precedent for Frankish rule over an indigenous, largely Muslim population. His awareness of Norman rule over Sicilian Muslims presumably affected his attitude.

Siege culminating in negotiated surrender was another mode of Frankish takeover. The terms of surrender varied. At Arsuf in 1101, Acre in 1104, Tripoli in 1109, and Ascalon in 1153, the Muslims were permitted to leave for Muslim territory, but

¹⁸ This reconstruction of events is based on the detailed account by an anonymous adapter of the chronicle of Baudri of Dol: *Baldricus ep. Dolensis, Historia Jerosolimitana*, MS G, in *RHC. Occ.*, 4:100, n. 13; 105, nn. 15, 16, 19. (The adapter's version, pieced together from the main text and the variants, appears in Benjamin Z. Kedar, "The Frankish Period," in *The Samaritans*, ed. Alan D. Crown [Tübingen, 1989], p. 82, n. 1.) See also William of Tyre, *Chronique*, 9, 11, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis* 63 (Turnhout, 1986), p. 434. On *reguli* (headmen) *de montibus Samarie in quibus urbs Neapolitana sita est*, who came to Godfrey of Bouillon in 1100 to submit their villages but were suspected of spying, see William of Tyre, 9, 20, p. 446.

¹⁹ See Albert of Aachen, 6, 28–30, in *RHC. Occ.*, 4:482–84. William of Tyre writes that, in his own days (ca. 1180), Tancred was still remembered with gratitude in Galilee (William of Tyre, 9, 13, p. 438). But it appears from the context that the gratitude referred to Tancred's generous donations to churches rather than to his lenient treatment of the indigenous population. Tancred's biographer, Raoul of Caen, describes his hero's conquest of the vicinity of Bethsan in harsh terms: "cetera per circuitum municipia spoliat, aratra disjungit, jugum a bove ad rusticum transfert, claudit mercibus vias, urbibus portas" (*Gesta Tancredi*, c. 139 in *RHC. Occ.*, 3:704).

at Acre and Tripoli the Franks' Genoese allies turned the Muslim exodus into a massacre. At Sidon in 1110 and Tyre in 1124, the Muslims were given the choice of either going into exile or remaining under Frankish rule. In the towns which surrendered to Tancred in the region of Antioch, most inhabitants apparently chose to stay.

The linkage between assault and massacre suggests that the crusader leaders followed, or were largely bound by, prevailing customs of warfare. Their intentions at the stage of conquest can therefore be perceived through the terms of surrender which they proposed. Hence the significance of the offers purportedly made in 1100 to the Muslim and Jewish defenders of Haifa either to convert to Christianity and retain all rights and possessions, or retain their religion, lose their possessions, and choose between subjection to Frankish rule or exile.²⁰ Haifa was besieged by the Franks and their Venetian allies, but Tancred, one of the leaders who hoped to obtain possession of the town upon its conquest, probably had a say in the formulation of these terms. Yet the defenders rejected capitulation, the siege went on, and Haifa was eventually stormed and the population massacred. It was only in 1110, in the kingdom of Jerusalem, that the Muslim inhabitants of a besieged town were actually given the opportunity to choose between exile or life without conversion under Frankish rule. This happened at Sidon where, as Fulcher of Chartres relates, the Muslim defenders suggested that the local peasants be allowed to stay so that they might cultivate the land to King Baldwin I's advantage.²¹ Perhaps the offer originated with the king, but Fulcher considered it too controversial to ascribe it to him. Indeed, in the first re-

²⁰ *Monachi Littorensis Historia de Translatione S. Nicolai*, in *RHC. Occ.*, 5: 276; Albert of Aachen, 7, 22–25, in *RHC. Occ.*, 4:521–23. It should be noted that according to William of Tyre the Saracens of Acre capitulated in 1104 on the terms that they might choose between exile and life under Frankish rule (William of Tyre, 10, 27, p. 487). But the contemporary chroniclers Fulcher of Chartres, Albert of Aachen, and Ibn al-Qalānī, who do not mention such choice, should be preferred.

²¹ Fulcher of Chartres, 2, 44, 6–7, p. 548: the besieged asked the king for safe conduct “et si ei [= regi] placeret, agricolas ad excolendum terras causa utilitatis suae in urbe retineret”.

daction of the chronicle, probably written in Baldwin's lifetime, the advantage to accrue from the peasants' work is not yet ascribed to the king.²² In any case, the offer was accepted and a considerable number of the Muslims chose to stay; somewhat later, Baldwin extracted a large sum of money from them.²³ By contrast, Tancred, then ruler of Antioch, exhibited a marked, unequivocal interest in enlarging the Muslim manpower at his disposal. Kamāl al-Dīn, describing events which took place at *Athārib* in northern Syria within months of the surrender of Sidon, explicitly states that Tancred made efforts to persuade Muslim workers to stay, and even negotiated the repatriation of their wives who had fled to Aleppo.²⁴

The treatment meted out to the Levantine Muslims at the time of the Frankish conquest resembled, in general terms, that of the Moors in Spain. There, too, the mode of takeover was decisive, with conquest by assault leading to slaughter and enslavement, and siege terminating in surrender leading to exile or subjection.²⁵ But the massacres in the Levant were often more ferocious, probably because most Crusaders—unlike many Spaniards—had never before encountered Muslims, or because of the frenzy inherent in holy warfare. The one unique measure was the decision taken after the conquest of Jerusalem to forbid Infidels—Muslims and Jews—to reside in the Holy City.²⁶ This was an obvious outgrowth of the desire to put an

²² "Ac si placeret, agricolas ad excolendum terras causa utilitatis in urbe retineret." See Hagenmeyer's apparatus to the passage quoted in the preceding n.

²³ Ibn al-Qalānī, pp. 100–101; Ibn al-*Athīr*, in *RHC. Or.*, 1:276.

²⁴ Kamāl al-Dīn, in *RHC. Or.*, 3:597–98, utilized by Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, p. 343.

²⁵ See O'Callaghan in the present volume, Chap. 1. For the similarity of Christian reconquest argumentation vis-à-vis the Muslim population, see the purported retort by the patriarch of Jerusalem at the siege of Caesarea in 1101 and the appeal of the archbishop of Braga during the siege of Lisbon in 1147 (Caffarus, *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de'suoi continuatori*, ed. L. T. Belgrano, 5 vols. [Genoa, 1890–1929], 1:9–10; and *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, ed. and trans. C. W. David [New York, 1936], pp. 114–18).

²⁶ On this decision, see Joshua Prawer, "The Latin Settlement of Jerusalem," in his *Crusader Institutions*, p. 90, n. 21. (The original version of this article appeared in 1952.)

end to Infidel desecration of the Holy Places, a core component of the idea of the crusade.

At the present stage of research it is not possible to assess the number of Muslims who remained under Frankish rule after the initial massacres and emigrations. However, the order of magnitude, for the kingdom of Jerusalem only, may be roughly estimated. Ernoul, a Frankish chronicler well-versed in Palestinian affairs, relates that in the mid-1160s King Thoros of Armenia proposed that King Amalric of Jerusalem evict the Saracen peasants of his realm and replace them with 30,000 trustworthy Armenian warriors, who would come with their families to populate and defend the country.²⁷ If Thoros (or Ernoul) had in mind a replacement on a one-to-one basis, it would follow that the contemporary estimate of the number of subjected Muslim households in the countryside amounted to about 30,000. It should be noted that a present-day independent estimate based on a multiplier of 5 posits, for the kingdom of Jerusalem at its demographic zenith in the 1180s, a Frankish, mostly urban population of 100,000 to 120,000 and a subjected, Muslim and Oriental Christian population of 300,000 to 360,000, and 250,000 of whom lived in the countryside.²⁸ In the kingdom of Acre, which came into being as a result of the Third Crusade and lasted from 1191 to 1291, the number of subjected Muslims must have been considerably smaller than in the twelfth-century kingdom of Jerusalem, since Frankish rule had been restricted during most of this period to the coastal plain. The Frankish/indigenous ratio and the Frankish/Muslim ratio must therefore have become more favorable to the Franks.²⁹

Whether Muslims constituted the majority of the subjected, indigenous population of the crusading kingdom of Jerusalem is a moot point, since the few explicit references in the narrative sources are at odds with each other. The Andalusian writer Ibn

²⁷ *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. M. L. de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1871), pp. 28–29.

²⁸ Joshua Prawer, *Histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem*, trans. G. Nahon, 2 vols. (Paris, 1969), I:498, 568–72.

²⁹ Cf. Cahen, "La féodalité," pp. 189–90.

al-‘Arabī, who stayed in Jerusalem between 1093 and 1095—a few years before the advent of the First Crusade—remarked that “the country is theirs [the Oriental Christians’]; they till its estates, attend to its monasteries and maintain its churches.”³⁰ On the other hand, the Frankish chronicler Ermoul relates that King Thoros of Armenia stated, during his visit to Jerusalem in the mid-1160s, that Saracens inhabited all villages of the Frankish kingdom, and the Granadan pilgrim Ibn Jubayr, who passed through Galilee in 1184, made a similar observation.³¹ It is not easy to reconcile these statements even when some exaggeration is allowed for on both sides. The notion of an Oriental Christian majority in the Palestinian countryside giving way, under Frankish rule, to a Muslim one, is patently untenable. Perhaps the statements should be taken to apply to different regions. Ibn al-‘Arabī may have been referring to the surroundings of Jerusalem, and Ibn Jubayr’s statement evidently reflects the observations he made on his trip from Tibnīn to Acre. Consequently, one may assume that Muslims were in the majority in some, possibly most parts of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and Oriental Christians in others.³² The fact that Saladin’s secretary ‘Imād al-Dīn, in his account of the Muslim reconquest of 1187, sees fit to point out that all the villagers in the surroundings of Nablus and the majority of the inhabitants of Sidon, Beirut, and Jubayl were Muslims,³³ appears to support this assumption. The situation was different in the northern Frankish states, where the indigenous population was preponderantly Oriental Christians—Jacobite and Greek Orthodox in the Principality of Antioch, Armenian in the County of Edessa—and Muslims apparently constituted the majority only in some enclaves.³⁴

³⁰ Ibn al-‘Arabī, *al-Ribla*, ed. I. ‘Abbās, p. 81, quoted and discussed by Gil, *Palestine*, 1:142.

³¹ Ermoul, *Chronique*, p. 28; *Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, p. 316.

³² For the assessment that the indigenous population was mainly Muslim with several Oriental Christian enclaves, see Prawer, *Histoire*, 1:570.

³³ ‘Imād al-Dīn, *Conquête*, p. 36; ‘Imād al-Dīn, in Abū Shāma, *RHC. Or.*, 4:309. See also n. 67 below.

³⁴ Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, pp. 343, 514. On the importance of the Maronites

Beyond determining the immediate fate of the Muslims, the mode of Frankish takeover also largely shaped the future structure of their communities. When the terms of surrender allowed for a choice between staying or going into exile, members of the leading strata chose to leave. Ibn al-*Athīr* writes that “a large group of the important people” of Sidon left in 1110, and Fulcher of Chartres refers to the Muslims who remained there as peasants. Ibn al-Qalānisi writes that in Tyre, in 1124, the only Muslims who stayed were those too weak to embark upon a journey, and that at the surrender of Ascalon in 1153 all Muslims who were able to depart did so.³⁵ To some extent these statements may be exaggerations motivated by the desire to minimize the size and importance of the Muslim population that chose to remain under Frankish rule. Independent evidence contained in the guide to pilgrimage sites by ‘Alī al-Harawī, who visited the Frankish kingdom in the early 1180s, and in the history of Jerusalem and Hebron by Mujīr al-Dīn, a fifteenth-century Jerusalemitic author, indicates, in any case, that the remaining Muslims were too weak to preserve the tombs of famous local personages, or too uninformed to uphold the traditions about their exact location. ‘Alī al-Harawī provides many details about pilgrimage sites throughout the mountainous region of the country as well as in the Jordan Valley east of it, but has very little to say about the towns of the coastal plain. He is aware of the difference between the two regions, remarking at one point that “in the cemetery at Ascalon, there are many saints and followers whose tombs cannot be recognized, and the same is true of Gaza, Acre, Tyre, Sidon and the entire coastal region.”³⁶ Mujīr al-Dīn makes similar remarks with re-

in the County of Tripoli, see the diverging views of J. Richard, *Le comté de Tripoli sous la dynastie toulousaine (1102-1187)* (Paris, 1945), p. 86, and Prawer, “Social Classes,” p. 92.

³⁵ Sidon: Ibn al-*Athīr*, p. 276; Fulcher of Chartres, 2, 44, 6-7, p. 548. Tyre: Ibn al-Qalānisi, p. 162; Ibn al-*Athīr*, p. 359. Ascalon: Ibn al-Qalānisi, p. 333 (William of Tyre [17, 29-30, pp. 802-3] speaks of a total evacuation, but at the time of the conquest of Ascalon he was still in Europe). ‘Imād al-Dīn, in Abū Shāma, *RHC. Or.*, 4:409, refers to the subjected Muslims of Sidon, Beirut, and Jubayl as poor people.

³⁶ ‘Alī al-Harawī, *Guide*, p. 76. Followers (*tābi’ūn*) are those who did not know the Prophet personally but only one of his Companions (*ashbāb*).

gard to Muslim tombs at Ramla (the capital of southern Palestine deserted by its Muslim inhabitants upon the advent of the Crusaders in 1099), stating that the tombs were no longer extant, or known, as a result of the Frankish occupation.³⁷ Both writers also make similar comments regarding tombs near the walls of Jerusalem.³⁸

On the other hand, where the Frankish takeover was relatively peaceful, as in the Nablus region or in parts of northern Syria conquered by Tancred, Muslim society remained largely intact. (The same was probably true of the Bedouin tribes who came under Frankish rule.) In fact, none of the subjected Muslims appear as frequently in the documentation as those of the Nablus area. The account of the Hanbali exodus throws light on religious life in some villages southwest of Nablus in the early 1150s. Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Qudāma, a Hanbali jurisconsult from the village of Jammā'il, would undertake voyages to study *ḥadīth*, and then return home and recite Koran and *ḥadīth* to his followers. One of these was a *faqīh* (jurist) who went to Damascus on several occasions, while another was a *ḥājj*, a man who had performed the pilgrimage to Mecca. A third, Yahyā b. 'Uthmān from Yāsūf, the only Hanbali in his village, would come on Fridays to Jammā'il for prayer; in 1156 he went to Damascus, possibly to study there. All this suggests an intact rural Muslim society.³⁹ Things came to a head only when the local Frankish seigneur—probably Baldwin of Ibelin, lord of Mirabel—learned that Ahmad b. Qudāma's Friday sermons drew peasants from several villages and diverted them from work. He may also have objected to the sermons' contents, although Ḏiyā' al-Dīn, the author of the account and Ahmad's grandson, does not say so. The lord decided to have Ahmad killed, but one of his subordinates who, as Ḏiyā' al-Dīn puts it, "believed in Muslim holy men and was benevolent toward them," alerted Ahmad. (The name of the subordinate has

³⁷ *Histoire de Jérusalem et d'Hébron. Fragments de la Chronique de Moudjir-ed-dyn*, trans. Henry Sauvage (Paris, 1876), pp. 45–46, 63.

³⁸ 'Ali al-Harawī, *Guide*, p. 68; Mujīr al-Dīn, *Histoire*, p. 63.

³⁹ For similar conditions in Muslim villages of contemporary Norman Sicily, see H. Bercher, Annie Courteaux, and J. Mouton, "Une abbaye latine dans la société musulmane: Monreale au XII^e siècle," *Annales E.S.C.* 34 (1979): 533.

been tentatively read as Ibn Tasir, which does not sound Semitic; perhaps he was a Frank.) Ahmad promptly fled to Damascus—the year was 1156—and soon after ordered his relatives and disciples to follow him there, intimating that emigration from Infidel territory was their religious duty. Some 140 men, women and children came to Damascus between 1156 and 1173.⁴⁰ Fortunately, Ḥiyā' al-Dīn wrote down their names and interrelations, thereby affording a unique glimpse of Muslim rural family life and patterns of name-giving under Frankish rule.⁴¹ For instance, Ahmad himself had at least four sons and five daughters from two wives, each of whom had come to Jammā'il from a different village; both wives had the same name, Sa'ida, which was also the name of one of Ahmad's sisters. At the time of Ahmad's flight, one of his sons was already the father of three, while two of his brothers-in-law had at least seven children each. His followers appear to have had smaller families; perhaps they were younger people.

Slavery

Other forms of Muslim existence under Frankish rule were captivity and slavery, with the dividing line between the two being rather blurred. Many Muslims were reduced to slavery during the crusader conquest and many others were captured and enslaved during subsequent rounds of Frankish-Muslim warfare. Again, the Frankish sources, with the exception of the legal ones, seldom refer to these Muslims. But Ibn Jubayr devotes some of his most emotional lines to a description of the captive Muslim men stumbling in shackles and doing hard labor like slaves, and the captive Muslim women plodding along with iron rings on their legs.⁴² He also describes at some length the efforts at ransoming Muslim prisoners from the far-away Maghreb.

⁴⁰ Ḥiyā' al-Dīn, pp. 67–77, partially translated in Drory, "Hanbalis," pp. 95–96.

⁴¹ The names are listed in Drory, "Hanbalis," app. 2, pp. 108–12.

⁴² *Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, p. 322.

The number of slaves was substantial. When Saladin appeared in 1184 at Sebaste during his raid of central Palestine, the local bishop saved his town by handing over eighty Muslim captives. Three years later, four thousand Muslim prisoners were said to have been set free in Acre, and some five thousand in Jerusalem. And 'Imād al-Dīn boasts that Saladin liberated twenty thousand captive Muslims during his reconquest campaign.⁴³ The first figure sounds realistic, the three others rather less so, but whatever the exact figures, enslaved Muslim manpower must have played a distinct role in the Frankish economy. In 1263, relates the anonymous Templar of Tyre, the Mamlūk sultan Baybars offered the Franks of Acre an exchange of Christian and Saracen slaves, but the military orders of the temple and the hospital rejected the proposal, arguing that "their [Saracen] slaves (*esclavos*) were of great profit to them, for they were all craftsmen and it would have cost them dearly to hire other craftsmen" [if the slaves were exchanged]. Baybars, by the way, was perfectly aware of the Franks' motives, and rebuked them—so relates Al-Maqrīzī—for retaining the Muslim prisoners in order to exact labor from them rather than showing pity for the Frankish prisoners held by the Mamlūks.⁴⁴

The customary law of the Frankish kingdom bestowed free status on a slave who decided to convert to Christianity. The origins of this law—which had a parallel in Catalonia and Valencia, though apparently not in Castile—are not known. Perhaps it stemmed from a missionary impulse, or a desire to enlarge the initially minuscule Frankish element with captured Turkish warriors whose martial valor was highly respected, or from the inability to conceive of Catholic slaves in a society

⁴³ Sebaste: Baldwin IV's letter to Patriarch Eraclius in Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, Rolls Series 68, 2, ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1876), 2:28. Acre: Bahā al-Dīn, in *RHC. Or.*, 3:98. Jerusalem: 'Imād al-Dīn, in Abū Shāma, *RHC. Or.*, 4: 328–29. Twenty thousand captives: 'Imād al-Dīn, *Conquête*, p. 38.

⁴⁴ *Chronique du Templier de Tyr*, § 318, in *Les Gesta des Croisés*, ed. Gaston Raynaud (Geneva, 1887), p. 167; Al-Maqrīzī, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Egypte*, trans. M. E. Quatremère (Paris, 1837), 1, 1:195. Cf. Maurice H. Chehab, *Tyr à l'époque des croisades*, vol. 2, *Histoire sociale, économique et religieuse*, Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth, vols. 31–32 (Paris, 1979), p. 117.

bifurcated into Catholic masters and non-Catholic subjects. Though the origins of this law are obscure, there is ample evidence of efforts to limit its applicability or disregard it altogether. The *assises* of Jerusalem endeavored to restrict the law to bona-fide converts, and masters are known to have refused their Saracen slaves baptism, as they were not willing to lose their authority over them. Some even prohibited their slaves from attending Christian sermons. In 1237 Pope Gregory IX attempted to solve the problem by ruling that slaves wishing to convert ought to be allowed to do so, but that their servile status must not be altered thereby. This compromise between missionary impulse and slaveholder interest, which abrogated the customary law of the kingdom, appears to have been welcomed by Catalan masters who faced a similar custom; in any case, the same solution was adopted there, too. In the Frankish Levant, opposition to slave conversion continued despite the papal ruling, and therefore in 1253 a papal legate had to threaten noncomplying masters with excommunication. The legate Eudes of Châteauroux ordered that henceforth his statute be proclaimed twice a year in all the churches of the Frankish Levant and Cyprus, a further indication of the vigor of the masters' opposition. Indeed, the threat had to be repeated at the Synod of Nicosia in 1298.⁴⁵

Rare Resistance, Limited Collaboration

Once it became evident that Frankish rule was there to stay, the subjected Muslims ceased their initial attempts at agricultural

⁴⁵ For a more detailed discussion, see my *Crusade and Mission*, pp. 76–78, 146–51, 212–15; also idem, "Ecclesiastical Legislation in the Kingdom of Jerusalem: The Statutes of Jaffa (1253) and Acre (1254)," in *Crusade and Settlement. Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and Presented to R. C. Smail*, ed. P. W. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), pp. 225–26. For the Catalan *consuetudo bona*, see Raymond de Penyafort, *Summa de paenitentia*, I, 4, 7, eds. Xavier Ochoa and Aloysius Diez, *Universa Bibliotheca Iuris I/B* (Rome, 1976), col. 316.

boycott and occasional ambush,⁴⁶ and became largely docile. Of course, there was hatred. Ibn Jubayr refers to King Baldwin IV as *al-khinzir* ("the pig") and to Baldwin's mother as *al-khinzira* ("the sow"), and the context leaves little doubt that he picked up these telling epithets from the Muslims he encountered in Frankish Galilee. (Nothing of this kind in his report on Sicily!) There were some individual acts of violence. Usāma b. Munqidh relates that the Muslim mother of a young man of Nablus killed her Frankish husband and that the son, together with his mother, assassinated a number of Frankish pilgrims. There were also cases of flight to Muslim countries or, as Frankish law puts it, to *Paenime*. But open rebellion is attested for only one area, Jabal Bahrā east of Jabala in the Principality of Antioch, where the Nusayrī montagnards spontaneously revolted in the 1130s and again in the early 1180s.⁴⁷ Elsewhere the subjected Muslims were quiescent, daring to rise only when a Muslim army was invading the country. In 1113, when the men of Mawdūd of Mosul were roaming through northern and central Palestine, the subjected Muslims helped them harass the Franks, conveyed booty and supplies to their camp, and let Mawdūd know that they considered him their new overlord. The villagers of the Nablus area appear to have been especially active, for Fulcher of Chartres relates that the subjected Saracens who lived in the mountains helped the invaders sack Nablus. Similar scenes occurred during Saladin's reconquest three generations later. The doings of the *qādī* of Jabala have already been mentioned. In Galilee, local Jews and Muslims harassed the remaining Franks, as Roger of Howden reports. 'Imād al-Dīn relates that the Muslim peasants of the Nablus region fell upon the local Franks, looted their possessions, and forced them to take refuge in their fortresses even before the arrival of Saladin's men. And when, upon the advent of the Khwarezmi-

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⁴⁶ On such attempts, see William of Tyre, 9, 19, p. 445, utilized by Prawer, "Social Classes," p. 62.

⁴⁷ *Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, p. 316; *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades. Memoirs of Usāmah ibn Munqidh*, trans. Philip K. Hitti (New York, 1929), p. 168; *Livre des Assises de la Cour des Bourgeois*, c. 255, in *RHC. Lois* (Paris, 1843), 2:191; Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, pp. 353, 428.

ans in 1244, the Franks left Jerusalem, "Saracen rustics of the mountain area" fell upon them, killing many and capturing others.⁴⁸ Evidently the subjected Muslims were willing to rise when the risks were, or seemed to be, extremely low.

Spontaneous uprisings against the Franks were rare; active collaboration with them was limited. As in other areas of Catholic reconquest, some Muslims entered into the service of their conquerors and assumed their religion. In August 1099, a former Saracen ruler of Ramla accompanied his crusader allies to the battle of Ascalon and was persuaded by Godfrey of Bouillon to become a Christian. In November 1100, Saracen converts to Christianity advised Baldwin I on the feasibility of an expedition to the Dead Sea. Baldwin also raised a Saracen from the font, gave him his name, and took him into his intimate service until he became "almost a chamberlain." But in 1110 this ex-Muslim was caught conspiring with the besieged Muslims of Sidon, and was promptly executed. A somewhat legendary account has it that in about 1112 Baldwin left another baptized Muslim in temporary charge of Jerusalem. As none of these former Saracens is mentioned for his own sake but only because of his role in royal affairs, there might have been even more converts in the king's service.⁴⁹ The phenomenon appears, however, to have been limited to the early years of the kingdom, for no such cases are mentioned later on.

One Muslim is known to have risen to some prominence in Frankish service. This was the aforementioned chronicler Ḥamdān b. 'Abd al-Rahīm, who, having succeeded in healing Alan, the first Frankish lord of *Athārib* in the Principality of Antioch, received from him the village of Mār Būniya as a pres-

⁴⁸ 1113: Fulcher of Chartres, 2, 49, 11, p. 572; Ibn al-Qalānisi, p. 125. Galilee, 1187: Benedict of Peterborough (= Roger of Howden, first redaction), *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, Rolls Series 49, 2, ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1867), p. 93. Nablus, 1187: 'Imād al-Dīn, in Abū Shāma, *RHC. Or.*, 4:301-2; 'Imād al-Dīn, *Conquête*, pp. 35-36. 1244: Letter of the patriarch of Jerusalem, in Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, Rolls Series 57, 4, ed. H. R. Luard (London, 1877), p. 339.

⁴⁹ Albert of Aachen, 6, 42-44, pp. 491-93; Fulcher of Chartres, 2, 4, 4, pp. 374-75; William of Tyre, 11, 14, p. 518; Guibert de Nogent, in *RHC. Oct.*, 4:262.

ent, and thereby became one of the very few Muslim landlords of the Frankish Levant. (Other known cases are those of the Shaykh of Banū Sulayḥa in the Principality of Antioch, and the emirs of the Gharb region south of Beirut.) Ḥamdān fulfilled for the Franks administrative tasks in the Jazr region, and later directed for them the *diwān* at Ma‘arrat al-Nu‘mān. But his loyalty to his Frankish masters was hardly greater than that of King Baldwin’s ex-Muslim intimate. After Zengi’s entry into Aleppo in 1128, Ḥamdān went there, later to become governor of the reconquered Jazr.⁵⁰

Some Muslim scribes were employed by the Franks, since the Arabic language was used for several purposes and as some elements of the previous Muslim administration survived into Frankish times.⁵¹ Most Arabic-writing clerks, though, appear to have been Oriental Christians. Ibn Jubayr reports that the clerks of the Acre customs house who wrote and spoke Arabic were Christians.⁵² Of seventeen indigenous scribes mentioned in Frankish charters, nine bear unequivocally Christian names like Jurj b. Ya‘qūb (George, son of Jacob), Boteros (Peter), or are otherwise known to have been Christians. Six bear names like Brahim (Ibrāhīm) or Seit (Sa‘īd) which could equally well

⁵⁰ On Ḥamdān b. ‘Abd al-Rahīm’s career, see Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, pp. 41–42, 343–44; his standing with the Franks may be compared with that of the *scribani* discussed by Jonathan Riley-Smith, “Some Lesser Officials in Latin Syria,” *English Historical Review* 87 (1972): 23–26. On Roger of Antioch’s grant of three villages to the Banū Sulayḥa in 1118, see Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, p. 278; the 1180 grant of Bohemond III of Antioch to the military order of Santiago excepts the villages “quos concessimus habendo vetulo Assidaeorum” (*Bullarium equestris ordinis S. Iacobi de Spatha*, ed. J. López Aguirleta [Madrid, 1719], p. 22, noted by Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, pp. 5, 462). On the grants of 1255 and 1280 to the emirs of the Gharb, whose allegiance vacillated between Franks and Muslims according to the shifts in the balance of power, see Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, “Deux chartes des Croisés dans les archives arabes,” *Recueil d’archéologie orientale* 6 (1905): 1–30. On the rather slight possibility that Muisse Arrabit (or Arrabi), a vassal of Hugh of Ibelin, may have been of Muslim origin, see my *Crusade and Mission*, pp. 75–76, n. 95.

⁵¹ See Jonathan Riley-Smith, “The Survival in Latin Palestine of Muslim Administration,” in *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades*, ed. P. M. Holt (Worminster, 1977), pp. 9–22.

⁵² *Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, p. 317.

have been Oriental Christian or Muslim, and only one, Nasser, bears a typically Muslim name.⁵³ The presumed predominance of Oriental Christians may have been an inheritance from the pre-Frankish period, for Al-Muqaddasī, writing in the late tenth century, observed that in Syria all the scribes were Christians.⁵⁴ Although in 1012 the caliph Al-Hākim ordered the Christian scribes to be replaced by Muslims, it is possible that at the turn of the twelfth century most were still Christian.

Unlike in Norman Sicily, Hungary, or Valencia, there were no Muslim troops in Frankish service, unless one counts the Saracen archers whom Adelaide of Sicily brought in 1113 as a marriage gift to her future husband, Baldwin I of Jerusalem.⁵⁵ Some converted Muslims served the Franks as mounted archers or turcopoles.⁵⁶ Only once, and as late as 1264, are subjected Muslims mentioned as participating in a power struggle on behalf of their masters. The Templar of Tyre relates that during a Venetian attack on Tyre the local lord, Philip of Montfort, ordered "the sergeants, archers, Saracens, villeins of his lands" to come to Tyre.⁵⁷ Significantly, Philip attempted to use his Saracens in a struggle with Christians, not Muslims. Evidently, the subjected Muslims could not have been relied upon to fight their coreligionists. Both sides suspected them of spying, probably with good reason.⁵⁸ For instance, in 1263 the sultan Baybars imposed a large fine on the Muslims of the partly recon-

⁵³ Charters mentioning names of indigenous scribes are listed by Clermont-Ganneau, "Deux chartes," pp. 15–16; Riley-Smith, "Lesser Officials," p. 23, n. 2; idem, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277* (London, 1973), p. 256, n. 145. The Oriental names, in addition to those quoted in the text, are Sororius Syrus, Youseph, Huissetus, Ferry, Geiggus or Georgius, Petros, Georgius Surianus, Soquerius (with relatives called Johannes and Georgius), Johannes Bogalet, and Belhes (or Belheis).

⁵⁴ Al-Muqaddasī, *Description of Syria Including Palestine*, trans. Guy Le Strange, in *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society* (London, 1896), 3, 3:77.

⁵⁵ Albert of Aachen, 12, 13, in *RHC. Occ.*, 4:697.

⁵⁶ For details, see *Crusade and Mission*, p. 76.

⁵⁷ Templier de Tyr § 322, p. 170; see also § 283, p. 154, where the lord of Tyre used "ccc. archers vilains de sa terre," also in an internal struggle. Both passages noted by Chéhab, *Tyr*, 2:115.

⁵⁸ See Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, p. 714.

quered coastal plain of Palestine as well as of the region of Nablus, because of the information they had allegedly supplied to the Franks.⁵⁹ In Sicily, suspicion of collusion with outside Muslims was also present and occasionally justified. 'Alī al-Harawī relates that when he was in Sicily, Abu 'l-Qāsim b. Hammud—the leader of the local Muslims whom Ibn Jubayr also met—gave him letters for the sultan (presumably Saladin), intending to incite him to conquer the island.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, the Normans had no substantial reason to fear any outside Muslim power, while, on the other hand, the scope for their use of the subjected Muslims in inter-Christian warfare was considerable.⁶¹

In all, the Muslim role in the Frankish body politic was negligible, and Hans Eberhard Mayer did not exaggerate much when he quipped that “the only occasions when the Muslims were allowed to participate in public life were when they mourned a dead king.”⁶² The reverse side was that, with no Muslim officials or courtiers, there was no anti-Muslim resentment as in Sicily, no auto-da-fé like that of the ex-Muslim (or crypto-Muslim) Philip of Mahdiyya toward the end of Roger II’s reign, no outbreaks of anti-Muslim violence as in Palermo in 1160/61. But in the Frankish Levant, too, preference shown to Muslims over Franks, no matter of how restricted a nature, would trigger an angry response. Perhaps the only instance was Frankish recourse to Muslim and other Oriental physicians, which aroused stark resentment. William of Tyre complained that the Frankish nobles, influenced by their wives, despised Latin medicine and trusted only the utterly ignorant Jews, Samaritans, Syrians, and Saracens, and the author of the Old French version of William’s chronicle knowingly added that these Orientals gave poison to all the great men of the realm.

⁵⁹ Maqrīzī, *Histoire*, 1, 1:199. Maqrīzī adds that Baybars decided to impose the fine rather than execute them, seeing that they were peasants and shepherds.

⁶⁰ 'Alī al-Harawī, *Guide*, p. 126. On Saladin as the sultan in question, see the translator’s introduction, pp. xv, xvii.

⁶¹ For a divergent comparison of the Levant and Sicily in this respect, see Cahen, “Féodalité,” p. 190.

⁶² Mayer, “Muslims,” p. 180.

The resentment did not remain verbal only. One of the constitutions of the Latin church of Nicosia, Cyprus, probably dating from the early 1250s and possibly depending on some earlier enactment in the kingdom of Jerusalem, formally prohibited having recourse to a Jewish or Saracen physician or taking medicine on his advice.⁶³ It should be noted, however, that Latin and Muslim physicians sometimes acknowledged each other's achievements. The enigmatic Benvenutus of Jerusalem writes that a Saracen physician succeeded in curing a bishop's brother whom neither he nor any other physicians could help, while Gilbertus Anglicus proudly relates that he cured Bertran-ninus, the son of Hugh of *Jubiletum* (Gibelet, Jubayl), who almost lost his sight and of whom "both illustrious Saracens as well as Syrian Christians had despaired."⁶⁴ Occasionally, at least, professionalism proved stronger than prejudice.

The Causes of Docility

The Muslims' docility and divorce from the body politic were, to a very large extent, of the Franks' making. The initial massacres certainly taught the surviving Muslims to hold their new masters in awe. These masters also erected numerous castles throughout the country, which served as efficacious bases for the demonstration and exercise of power and the routine control of the adjacent population.⁶⁵ The Franks allowed the Mus-

⁶³ William of Tyre, 18, 34, p. 859; Eracles in *RHC. Occ.*, 1:879: "qui riens ne savoient de fisique, et si donnoient poisons a touz les hauz homes de la contrée"; *Constitutiones Nicosienses*, c. 14 in Mansi, *Concilia*, 26:314.

⁶⁴ Benvenutus, *Practica oculorum*, Vat. Lat. 5373 (s. XV), in Giuseppe Alberti, ed., "Cenni intorno ad altri codici dell'opera di Benvenuto," *Memorie della R. Accademia di scienze, lettere ed arti in Modena, Memorie della sezione di lettere*, 3d ser. 4 (1902): 128; Gilbertus Anglicus, *Compendium medicine*, Clm 28187 (s. XIV), fol. 76va; ed. Lyon, 1510, p. 137a. See also Usāma b. Munqidh, p. 162. These texts will be discussed in detail in the study mentioned in n. 103 below.

⁶⁵ See R. C. Smail, "Crusaders' Castles of the Twelfth Century," *Cambridge Historical Journal* 10 (1950–1952): 133–49; idem, *Crusading Warfare (1097–1193)* (Cambridge, Eng., 1956), pp. 60–62, 204–15; Cahen, *Orient.*, p. 169.

lims to adhere to their religion and administered justice fairly. In addition, there were relatively few Frankish rural foundations,⁶⁶ and therefore, unlike in Catalonia or Sicily, the Muslim peasants had no reason to fear large-scale eviction by Frankish settlers. Moreover, the Frankish variant of feudal economy did not know much demesne land and therefore the amount of *corvées* or labor services imposed on the Muslim serfs—or *villeins*, as they were called in the Frankish Levant—was limited. Taxation was onerous but not altogether intolerable, and apparently some Muslim *villeins* under Frankish rule were better off than their coreligionists in neighboring Muslim countries. It is worthwhile taking up these points in some detail.

Even as bitter a foe of the Franks as 'Imād al-Dīn concedes that they let the subjected Muslims practice their religion. Writing of the Muslims in the Nablus area, he remarks that the Franks "did not change a single law or cult practice,"⁶⁷ a statement vividly substantiated by the account of Ḥanbālī religious life in that same region. The crusaders, initially bewildered at the array of non-Catholic beliefs they encountered in the Levant, soon evolved the realistic policy of letting each group observe its "law,"⁶⁸ which, as far as the Saracens were concerned, was the law of detested Muḥammad. Thus the laws of the kingdom of Jerusalem take it for granted that in Frankish-administered courts a Saracen would give his oath "sur le Coran de sa loi."⁶⁹

As in Spain and Sicily, the Latin conquerors used to convert mosques into churches. In Jerusalem the Dome of the Rock became the *Templum Domini*, while the Al-Aqṣa mosque became first the royal residence and then the headquarters of the Knights Templar. In Caesarea the main mosque became St. Pe-

⁶⁶ See Joshua Prawer, "Colonization Activities in the Latin Kingdom," in his *Crusader Institutions*, pp. 103–42. (The article originally appeared in 1951.)

⁶⁷ D. S. Richards, "A Text of 'Imād al-Dīn on 12th-Century Frankish-Muslim Relations," *Arabica* 25 (1978): 203.

⁶⁸ See, e.g., the statement of the pilgrim Wilbrand of Oldenburg: "Quilibet eorum suas leges observant" (J. C. M. Laurent, ed., *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor* [Leipzig, 1873], p. 172).

⁶⁹ *Assises des Bourgeois*, c. 241, p. 172.

ter's Cathedral; in Ascalon, the Green Mosque—which, before 937, had been the Church of Mary the Green—became the church of *Sancta Maria Viridis*.⁷⁰ As for the prayer places left to the subjected Muslims, the evidence of Ibn Jubayr with regard to Tyre and Acre has already been reviewed. Beyond the boundaries of the kingdom of Jerusalem there is mention, as early as 1108/9, of the restoration of the mosques of Sarūj, the second largest town of the County of Edessa, by powerful Muslim allies of Count Baldwin, the future King Baldwin II of Jerusalem.⁷¹

Muslims were also allowed to pray at shrines which formed part of Christian sanctuaries. Usāma b. Munqidh, the Syrian emir who left behind a vivid description of his encounters with the Franks, both friendly and otherwise, relates that in about 1140 he visited the crypt of John the Baptist at Sebaste. At that time the crypt was still outside the church, but even when it was incorporated into the new cathedral, Muslims were allowed to pray at it, and the clerics—it is 'Imād al-Dīn who supplies this detail—grew rich from the sumptuous gifts they extracted from the Muslims for permission to do so. Usāma was even allowed to pray in the small church the Templars had attached to the Al-Aqṣa mosque, but this was an exceptional arrangement.⁷²

The fifteenth-century Egyptian chronicler Al-Maqrīzī remarks that the Franks used to coerce Muslims into converting to Christianity,⁷³ but this appears to be a gross exaggeration, as

⁷⁰ On the vicissitudes of the Ascalon sanctuary, see *Histoire de Yahyā ibn Sa'īd d'Antioche*, eds. and trans. I. Kratchkovsky and A. Vasiliev (Paris, 1924), in *Patrologia Orientalis*, 18, 5:719; Joshua Prawer, "The Town and County of Ascalon during the Crusades," *Eretz-Israel* 5 (1958): 229 (in Hebrew).

⁷¹ Ibn al-Athīr, in *RHC. Or.*, 1:263.

⁷² Sebaste: The relevant passage from Usāma's *Kitāb al-'Aṣā* is edited and translated in Hartwig Derenbourg, *Ousāmah ibn Mounqidh, un émir syrien au premier siècle des croisades (1095–1188)*, première partie: *Vie* (Paris, 1889), pp. 189, 528–29; 'Imād al-Dīn, in Abū Shāma, *RHC. Or.*, 4:302. Al-Aqṣa: Usāma b. Munqidh, pp. 163–64. In Frankish Ascalon, 'Alī al-Harawī was able to sleep in the *mashhad* of Ibrāhīm and leave an inscription on its wall ('Alī al-Harawī, p. 76).

⁷³ See Chéhab, *Tyr*, 1:536.

documented cases of enforced baptism are extremely rare.⁷⁴ Even Ibn Jubayr, who is peculiarly attentive to this issue as far as Sicily is concerned, reports nothing of the sort with regard to the Frankish Galilee which he traversed. True, there were some efforts at persuading Muslims to convert. The first recorded case occurred during the siege of Jerusalem in 1099, when Baldwin of Bourg (the later King Baldwin II) and other crusading leaders tried to convince a captive Saracen warrior to accept Christianity and, when he failed to comply, had him decapitated in front of the Muslim-held Tower of David. The customary law which called for the manumission of a slave who consented to convert is further evidence of some missionary tendency. From the very beginning there were Muslims who accepted Christianity, like the above-mentioned converts in the entourage of the first two rulers of Jerusalem. In later years, cases of voluntary conversion from Islam are described or referred to by men as different as Fulcher of Chartres and Usāma b. Munqidh, Pope Innocent III and 'Imād al-Dīn, and sources as diverse as the Frankish *assises*, a rare testament drawn up at Acre, Mamlūk-Frankish treaties, and an Arabic-French glossary. (Since several sources report also on Frankish conversion to Islam, it is evident that the dividing line between the religions was crossed on numerous occasions.)⁷⁵ It would appear that Muslim conversion to Christianity, especially on the lower rungs of Muslim society, gained momentum in the last fifty years or so of the Frankish presence in the Levant. At that time, mendicants were engaged in missionary activity (they appear to have been behind Gregory IX's decision on slave conversion) and Frankish rule was limited to an ever-shorter strip in which the Latin element was proportionately larger than ever before, and faced a relatively small number of Muslims who had lived under Frankish rule for several generations.

But for the *qādī* of Jabala, there is no documentary evidence for internal Muslim jurisdiction, but it is plausible to assume

⁷⁴ See *Crusade and Mission*, pp. 62, 153.

⁷⁵ For details on conversion in both directions, see *ibid.*, pp. 74-83, 145-54.

that the Muslims, like other subjected communities, had institutionalized ways of settling their own affairs, whether by *qādīs* or not. For instance, a headman (*rays*, *raycius* or *regulus* of the Frankish charters, the Arabic *ra'īs*), of a Muslim community might well have exercised jurisdiction over his coreligionists as Mansūr, headman of the Muslims in late eleventh-century Jabala, is explicitly said to have done during the Byzantine rule over his town. The same was probably true of the village headmen and Bedouin chieftains who represented their villages and tribes vis-à-vis the Franks and presumably continued to exercise their traditional authority.⁷⁶ In the towns, cases concerning life and limb would come before the Frankish Court of Burgesses, while other cases involving members of different communities would come before the Cour de la Fonde, or Market Court, which had competence over all the subjected, non-Frankish population, whether Christian or not.⁷⁷ The *assises* reminded the four Syrian and two Frankish jurors who, together with the presiding Frankish *bailli* composed that court, that Syrians, Greeks, Jews, Samaritans, Nestorians, and Saracens "are also

⁷⁶ On Mansūr of Byzantine Jabala, see Ibn al-*Athīr*, in *RHC. Or.*, 1:204. On the *rayses*, see the detailed discussion of Riley-Smith, "Lesser Officials," pp. 1–15; *idem*, *Feudal Nobility*, pp. 47–49, 90–91; Prawer, "Social Classes," pp. 103–4. It is an open question to what extent a *rays* of urban Muslims must have been a Muslim himself. Sadé, *rays* of the Saracens of Tyre in 1181, had a brother bearing the Romance name "Guillaume" (J. Delaville Le Roulx, "Inventaire de pièces de Terre-Sainte de l'Ordre de l'Hôpital," *Revue de l'Orient latin* 3 [1895]: 66; cf. Riley-Smith, "Lesser Officials," p. 5, n. 3 and p. 6, n. 7). The *ra'īs* of the largely Muslim town of Sarūj in the County of Edessa was an apostate from Islam, whom County Baldwin of Bourg put to death after he had insulted Islam in front of his Muslim allies (Ibn al-*Athīr*, in *RHC. Or.*, 1: 263). On the possibility that some form of internal Muslim jurisdiction did exist, see also Riley-Smith, "Survival," p. 10; Prawer, "Social Classes," pp. 104–5. It should be noted that while Fulcher of Chartres (2, 9, 7, p. 403) speaks of the *qādī* of Caesarea, captured in 1101, as the city's *episcopus*, known in the Saracen language as *archadius*, William of Tyre (10, 15, p. 472) describes him as "iuridicus, qui iuri dicendo praeerat, qui etiam lingua eorum Cadius appellatur."

⁷⁷ On the relationship of the Cour de la Fonde to the Cour des Syriens, see the diverging views of Riley-Smith, "Lesser Officials," pp. 1–9; *idem*, *Feudal Nobility*, pp. 89–91; and Prawer, "Social Classes," pp. 102–6.

men like the Franks" ("si sont il auci homes come les Frans") and therefore equally liable to heed the verdicts meted out to them.⁷⁸ Ibn Jubayr, too, notes the equitable justice of the Franks—but he does so with apprehension lest the subjected Muslims thereby be led astray from their faith.

Nevertheless, it appears that the Muslims were treated not only as inferior to the Franks (as were all the indigenous), but also as inferior to the Oriental Christians. The very composition of the Cour de la Fonde—four Syrians, three Franks, no Muslims—is a case in point. And the *assise* which deals with this court and starts by enumerating the various Christian and non-Christian groups for which it is competent, later lumps all Christians together as against the Saracens, stipulates stiff penalties for a Saracen who beat up a Christian man or woman (presumably in court), and prescribes death by hanging in case of repeated offense.⁷⁹ Nothing is said about the reverse case of Christian aggression, and this omission must be significant, as elsewhere the *assises* neatly balance each case with its reverse to the point of repetition.⁸⁰ Inequality between Muslim and Oriental Christian was not restricted to the Cour de la Fonde. This is attested by the charter by which Bohemond III of Antioch (whom Grousset rebuked for his soft "politique musulmane"), granted several possessions to the Order of the Hospital in 1186. Bohemond deals there also with the issue of fugitive serfs, and sets down that any Saracen serfs fleeing from his possessions to those of the hospital must be returned, whereas the Oriental Christian fugitives may stay there if compensation is agreed upon within fifteen days.⁸¹

The only Frankish legislation dealing specifically with the subjected Muslim population appears in the decisions of the Council of Nablus which convened in 1120 at a calamitous

⁷⁸ *Assises des Bourgeois*, c. 241, p. 172.

⁷⁹ *Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, pp. 316–17; *Assises des Bourgeois*, c. 241, p. 173.

⁸⁰ E.g., *ibid.*, cc. 59–65, pp. 53–56.

⁸¹ *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem*, ed. J. Delaville Le Roulx, (Paris, 1894), 1: 495, No. 783, utilized by Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, p. 343, n. 51 (but the charter refers to the Hospital, not to churches in general); and Prawer, "Social Classes," p. 109.

juncture and attempted to forestall further disasters by curbing vices such as adultery, sodomy, and larceny among the Franks. Four canons forbid sexual intercourse between Christians and Muslims. Male transgressors, whether Christian or Saracen, were threatened with castration, while female transgressors, if they consented to the act, were to suffer nasoectomy. Rape of one's own female Saracen was to entail castration; rape of a Saracen belonging to another man was to be punished by castration and exile.⁸² This is the earliest legislation of its kind in the Latin world, and, compared with later legislation in the West, is striking for the equal punishment meted out to Christian and Muslim transgressors.⁸³ The subsequent canon forbids the wearing of Frankish dress by Saracen men and women.⁸⁴ It is noteworthy that this first dress regulation for Infidels in the Latin world differs from later legislation, in that it does not forbid specific items of clothing or prescribe a certain type of haircut, as did the mid-thirteenth-century Castilian legislation, for example. By 1120, Frankish and Muslim dress in the Holy Land were so different that the mere prohibition of dressing "according to Frankish custom" ("Francigeno more") was deemed sufficient. No reason is given for this dress regulation, but as it follows immediately upon the legislation against sexual intercourse with Muslims it is reasonable to assume that it aimed primarily to ensure immediate recognition and avoidance of intimacy. If implemented, this legislation might have accorded some protection to Muslim women vis-à-vis Frankish men, their Frankish lords included, and, more generally, might have hampered contacts between Franks and Muslims. Yet it is not certain that any of the canons pertaining to Muslims was carried out. As Charles Verlinden has observed, they were not incorporated into the *assises* of the kingdom of Jerusalem.⁸⁵

The oppressive Frankish rule over the Muslim serfs is per-

⁸² *Concilium Neapolitanum*, cc. 12–15, in Mansi, 21:264. A critical edition will appear in my "William of Tyre and the Council of Nablus, 1120," *Annarium historiae conciliorum* (forthcoming).

⁸³ See, e.g., the laws discussed by O'Callaghan, chap. I above.

⁸⁴ *Concilium Neapolitanum*, c. 16, in Mansi, 21:264.

⁸⁵ Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale*, (Gent, 1977), 2:968.

haps the most widely discussed aspect of the history of the subjected Levantine Muslims. Like so much else, the discussion hinges largely on a remark by Ibn Jubayr. Speaking of the Muslim peasants he encountered on his way from Tibnīn to Acre, Ibn Jubayr remarks that they lived prosperously with the Franks and owned their houses and other possessions. Then he goes on to say:

But their hearts have been seduced, for they observe how unlike them in ease and comfort are their brethren in the Muslim regions under their (Muslim) governors. This is one of the misfortunes afflicting the Muslims. The Muslim community bewails the injustice of a landlord of its own faith, and applauds the conduct of its opponent and enemy, the Frankish landlord, and is accustomed to justice from him.⁸⁶

Modern historians have ascribed diverging measures of importance to these sentences. Two examples will suffice. In 1935 René Grousset regarded them as statements of fact, especially impressive as they came from the pen of an enemy of the Franks, and proposed to consider them "le plus bel éloge de la colonisation française."⁸⁷ Claude Cahen, who wrestled with this passage in publications which span half a century and include even an encyclopedia entry, warns against accepting it at face value or as applicable to Muslims everywhere under Frankish rule, depending as it does on conversations with a few people in a given place and time. Ibn Jubayr, he argues, traversed one of the richest parts of the Frankish Levant, the region of Tyre where Muslims might have fared better than elsewhere owing to the favorable terms on which Tyre had capitulated in 1124. Cahen also points to contrary evidence such as the Muslim legal status, their emigrations and uprisings, and finally suggests that Ibn Jubayr, who as a proponent of *jihād* would have preferred a Muslim exodus or uprising, here puts his subjected coreligionists to shame on account of their faintheartedness. But Cahen, too, concedes that Ibn Jubayr could not have

⁸⁶ *Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, p. 317.

⁸⁷ Grousset, *Histoire*, 2:754.

written his *fameuse page* if the Frankish regime were unmistakably harsher than that in the adjacent Muslim countries, and that he attests that Muslim peasants did not have a systematically unfavorable opinion of this regime.⁸⁸

The preoccupation with Ibn Jubayr's statement has eclipsed the contrary if somewhat enigmatic remark made by Gautier, chancellor of Antioch in the second decade of the twelfth century. In one of the prologues to his *Bella Antiochena*, Gautier observes that the sinful ways of the inhabitants of Syria had not been corrected by the oppression at the hands of the Byzantines, the Turks, or the "more intolerable" (*intolerabilior*) rule of the Franks.⁸⁹ Gautier speaks of the subjugated population in general, not of the subjected Muslim peasantry; yet his remark ought to be read alongside Ibn Jubayr's *fameuse page*.

How, then, did the Frankish rule appear from the angle of the subjected Muslim peasant? A major change which the Franks introduced was the extension of the poll tax to the Muslims. For Oriental Christians and Jews this tax was no different from the one they had had to pay as *dhimmis* to their Muslim rulers. For the Muslims, though, it was a form of degradation, a symbol of the demotion of the religious group to which they belonged from dominant to subjected status. But it was more than a symbol. The poll tax amounted to one dinar according

⁸⁸ Claude Cahen, "Indigènes et croisés. Quelques mots à propos d'un médecin d'Amaury et de Saladin," *Syria* 15 (1934): 356–58, repr. in *idem, Turco-byzantina*, chap. F; *idem* "Le régime rural syrien au temps de la domination franque," *Bulletin de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg* 29 (1951): 308–9, repr. in *Turco-byzantina*, chap. H; *idem*, "Crusades," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2d ed. (Leiden, 1963); *idem*, *Orient et Occident*, pp. 168–69.

⁸⁹ "Gracis namque regnantibus ipsorum imperio seruisse conuincuntur eisdem ex Asia propulsis Parthorum regnantium cessere dominio; tandem, Deo uolente, intolerabiliori succubere Gallorum potestati" (Galerius Cancellarius, *Bella Antiochena*, 1, Pt. 6, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer [Innsbruck, 1896], pp. 62–63). *Præfati Syri* refer back to *accolarum Syriae*, 1, Pt. 2, p. 61. For the identity of the nations mentioned, see Hagenmeyer's commentary, pp. 124–26, who believes that Frankish rule was more intolerable on account of widespread warfare and the earthquake of 1114. *Intolerabilior* may also mean "more irresistible," but the other instances in which Gautier uses this term tend to vindicate Hagenmeyer's assumption that he means here "more intolerable."

to Ḥiyā' al-Dīn and to 1 5/24 dinar according to Ibn Jubayr.⁹⁰ Contrary to previous assumptions, S. D. Goitein and Hans Eberhard Mayer have convincingly shown that, far from being a trifle, this tax constituted a heavy burden for the poorer parts of the subjected population.⁹¹ Moreover, a harsh Frankish lord (or a Frankish lord in urgent need of money, say for the ransom of a captive relative), could exact much higher sums. Ḥiyā' al-Dīn reports that the Frankish lord of Jammā'il and adjacent villages levied four dinars from everyone.⁹² In addition to the poll tax paid by all Muslims, Muslim peasants paid up to one-half of their crops, as well as other customary fees.⁹³ The significant fact, however, is that taxation in Muslim-ruled Syria appears to have been still more onerous. There the peasant had to pay a

⁹⁰ Ḥiyā' al-Dīn, p. 67, English trans. in Drory, "Hanbalīs," p. 95; *Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, p. 316. Like in other Christianized areas of the Mediterranean, the Muslim peasants of the Frankish Levant did not pay tithes (Ernoul, *Chronique*, p. 30).

⁹¹ S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 5 vols. (Berkeley, 1967–88), 2: 380–93; Mayer, "Muslims," pp. 181–82.

⁹² An eighteenth-century Damascene author familiar with Ḥiyā' al-Dīn's work asserts that while a Frank paid one dinar, a Muslim had to pay four times as much (Muhammad b. 'Isā b. Mahmūd b. Kannān, *al-Mu'rij al-sundusiyā al-fasīḥā fi talkhīṣ ta'rīkh al-Ṣālihiyya*, ed. Muhammad Ahmad Duhmān [Damascus, 1947], p. 2).

⁹³ See the discussion by Mayer, "Muslims," p. 183. Mayer also believes that the main burden of the emergency tax of 1183 fell largely on the (Muslim) peasants, who had to pay both an income tax and a property tax (*ibid.*, pp. 177–80). The argument hinges largely on the equation of *loca* in William of Tyre's text of the tax decree (*Chronique*, 22, 24, p. 1044) with *casians* in the Old French version printed in *RHC. Occ.*, 1:1111. But another version of the Old French text, which is superior on several counts, translates *loca* with *leus entor* (*Guillaume de Tyr et ses continuateurs*, ed. Paulin Paris, 2 vols. [Paris, 1879–80], 2:450). Besides, if *villeins* were really expected to pay the property tax, the four ad hoc assessors would have had to enter the villages belonging to the various lords and assess the worth of every single peasant hearth in the kingdom—a cumbersome procedure for an emergency measure. That speed was essential can be deduced from the method of collecting the income tax: the lords, who must have known the wealth of their *villeins* much better than an outside assessor, were instructed first to pay the state one bezant for each peasant hearth, and only later, to reimburse themselves by distributing the payment among the peasants as equitably as feasible.

land tax which could amount up to three-fifths, or even two-thirds, of the crops, and in addition he had to hand over up to one-tenth of the crops as obligatory alms.⁹⁴ Thus, Ibn Jubayr was quite right in considering the taxes which the Franks imposed on their Muslim peasants as relatively light.

Except for the introduction of the poll tax, the Franks did not significantly change the economic and social routine of the Muslim (and other indigenous) peasantry. They systematized the existing links of servitude, and since they largely dispensed with demesne exploitation and the concomitant *corvées*, the modes of cultivation, internal land distribution, village organization, and obligations of the peasants remained basically unaltered. The Frankish lord lived mostly in the town, and the peasants did not face him daily. Rather, they had to deal with the village *ra'is*, who apparently acted both as the lord's representative and as head of the village community.⁹⁵ Still, the lord's intimidating presence was never far away. As Ḍiyā' al-Dīn saw it, the Franks used to punish and jail the Muslims who worked the lands for them; the harshest of them, the lord of Jammā'il, would also mutilate their legs. Nevertheless, the overwhelming majority of Muslim peasants remained. At Jammā'il, despite the quadruple poll tax and corporeal punishments, none of the peasants left before Ahmad b. Qudāma fled to Damascus to save his life, and Ahmad's call to follow him was heeded by only a small group whose members had to keep their intentions secret. When these became known, the other villagers tried to dissuade Ahmad's followers and finally alerted the Franks, who attempted unsuccessfully to stop the fugitives near the Jordan.⁹⁶

The fact that only a few Muslim peasants fled to neighboring Muslim countries does not necessarily reflect contentment with Frankish rule. The average Muslim peasant clung to his land as long as he could, and was willing to suffer indignation rather

⁹⁴ For details, see Nikita Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Dīn. Un grand prince musulman de Syrie au temps des croisades*, 3 vols. (Damascus, 1967), 3:796–801.

⁹⁵ Cahen, "Régime rural syrien," esp. p. 309; Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, pp. 45–46; Prawer, "Social Classes," pp. 103–10.

⁹⁶ Ḍiyā' al-Dīn, pp. 67–69, English trans. in Drory, "Hanbalis," pp. 95–96.

than go into exile as a landless refugee. He paid his taxes because—and only when—Frankish coercion was effective. Fulcher of Chartres relates that Saracen peasants near Beirut refused to pay their dues until 1125 when King Baldwin II erected a castle in the neighborhood; thereafter they were constrained to yield the revenue.⁹⁷ But as soon as the peasant had grounds to believe that the Franks were loosening their grip, he would try to dodge his obligations. In 1263, when the Mamlūks were threatening Lower Galilee, a Frankish charter took into account the possibility that the village of Kafr Kāna—the Cana of the biblical wedding—might be occupied by the enemy, or its *villeins* might become disobedient to their masters, the Knights Hospitaller.⁹⁸ It is not known which eventuality materialized first, but Frankish rule over the region collapsed soon after.

Ruthless Frankish control of the countryside coupled with the realization that, with no massive colonization by European peasants in sight, the least frictional way of obtaining the all-important produce was to let the indigenous peasants maintain their routines; Muslim resignation to the fact that the price for staying put was to hand over a sizeable part of the harvest—these appear to have been the basic elements of the typical lord-peasant relationship, a relationship beset with suspicion and hostility exacerbated by the fact that the lord was also an Infidel. Thus the absence of large-scale Frankish rural colonization, besides minimizing friction between settlers and indigenes, set the stage for relatively stable though definitely coercive Frankish-Muslim coexistence in the countryside. In the coastal towns, the Frankish-Muslim relationship was also stable, but for different reasons. With the Muslim population killed or driven into exile, Frankish immigrants settled in the towns and obtained burgess status there, and members of Italian com-

⁹⁷ Fulcher of Chartres, 3, 45, pp. 771–72, utilized by Smail, "Crusaders' Castles," p. 143.

⁹⁸ *Cartulaire*, ed. Delaville Le Roulx, (Paris, 1899), 3:64, No. 3051. Cahen noted this charter ("Régime rural syrien," p. 308, n. 3) but did not dwell on its context.

munes established their quarters in the main commercial centers. The Frankish nobility, too, was largely city-dwelling. Under these circumstances, the Muslims who returned to these towns some time after the conquest or who were allowed to stay in some of them played only a modest role in the urban economics dominated by Franks and Italians, and there is nothing to indicate that this role changed perceptibly during the duration of Frankish rule.⁹⁹

The low proportion of Franks in the general population of the Latin states and the precarious political situation of these states evidently interacted.¹⁰⁰ The precariousness also hampered the mobilization of Muslim manpower and expertise; since war with the outside Muslim powers was always imminent, the subjected Muslims could not be entrusted, as they were in Sicily or Hungary, with military or administrative functions. Only some of the Normans in the Principality of Antioch, who not only had been acquainted with Muslims before their move to the Levant but also faced a smaller subjected Muslim population, appear to have acted differently. The precariousness and the low proportion of the Western element also worked against total Muslim resignation to life under the Franks and against assimilatory tendencies.

The impact of the idea of the crusade on the relationship between the Franks and the Muslims subjected to them was most

⁹⁹ For interesting details on Muslim merchants in Frankish Acre in about 1184, apparently overlooked by economic historians, see *The Book of the One-Thousand-Nights-and-One-Night*, 4 vols. (London, 1972) nights 894–904, 4: 230–59; also as an independent text, edited by Varsy, "Anecdote des croisades," *Journal asiatique* 4, 16 (1850): 75–92. For a letter of protection which King Baldwin III issued to "Bohali f. Ebinesten," a merchant from Tyre setting out by ship to Egypt, see Hans Frh. von Soden, "Bericht über die in der Kubbet [sic] in Damaskus gefundenen Handschriftenfragmente," *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (1903), p. 827. (Von Soden erroneously ascribed the letter to Baldwin IV, and was followed by R. Röhricht, *Regesta regni hierosolymitani* [Innsbruck, 1893–1904], No. 598a.) Some of the Oriental merchants of Acre and Tyre mentioned in Genoese acts of 1268 and 1271 may have been Muslims; three of them are said to have originated in Damascus (L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, 3 vols. [Paris, 1852–62], 2:74–79).

¹⁰⁰ See the remark by William of Tyre, 10, 20, p. 479.

pervasive. It was the idea of the holy war which led to the initial frenzied massacres. These left a legacy of revulsion and hatred, and directly or indirectly vacated the conquered areas of their indigenous Muslim elites. No Muslims of intellectual stature are known to have stayed permanently under Frankish rule, whereas Muslim refugees and fugitives from the conquered regions—among them a son and a nephew of Ahmad b. Quḍāma, both born in Jammā'il—played a considerable role in the dissemination of the idea of anti-Frankish jihād.¹⁰¹ Again, it was the crusading idea of liberating the Holy Places from their Infidel desecrators which led to the prohibition of Muslim settlement in the new kingdom's capital, a prohibition which rendered Muslim employment at the royal court even more unlikely. The continued appeal of the idea of the crusade in Western Europe ensured a continuous if numerically limited influx of newcomers from the West who felt that all Saracens were detested enemies and who significantly slowed down the incipient "orientalizing" tendencies on the part of the old-timers.¹⁰²

The centrality of the Holy Places in the genesis of the kingdom of Jerusalem as well as in its subsequent history also affected the intellectual temper of the Frankish Levant. The clerics who went on the First Crusade or who went East in the following decades, were by no means a representative sample of the European clergy of their time. Many of them came from regions with major schools, but none is known to have been a prominent man of learning. Those who joined the crusade or later emigrated to the Frankish Levant were chaplains attached to the leaders of the expedition, men driven by the wish to live in the country sanctified by the ministry and passion of Christ, men attracted to, and preoccupied by, holy places, holy relics, and the traditions pertaining to them. On the other hand, cler-

¹⁰¹ See Sivan, "Réfugiés," pp. 140–44. Al-Qādī al-Fāḍil, secretary and counselor to Saladin, was born in Ascalon eighteen years before the Frankish conquest of 1153; his father was a native of Baysān (Bethsan), which the Franks conquered in 1099; see A. Helbig, *al-Qādī al-Fāḍil* (Heidelberg, 1908).

¹⁰² For a cognate argument on the "occidental" character of the kingdom, see Cahen, "Féodalité," pp. 188–89.

ics interested in theological and philosophical speculation, the application of dialectic to Roman and canon law, the study of scientific tracts translated from the Arabic or the Greek—in short, clerics attracted by the new intellectual trends of the age, stayed behind in Europe. (Stephen of Pisa, later of Antioch, is a lone exception.) In other words, the clerics who settled in the Frankish Levant established there only one part of the ecclesiastical world from which they had come: they constituted a fragment of the European clergy of the age, a fragment characterized by lowbrow religiosity. These men were not interested in, or capable of, intellectual give-and-take with Oriental Christian or Muslim scholars. Many or perhaps most of the latter were massacred during the crusader conquest or left later for the lands of Islam. It should also be noted that the Crusaders never conquered a major Islamic cultural center and that of the numerous native communities they subjugated, none spoke both Arabic and a Romance language. For all these reasons, the contribution of the Frankish Levant to the transfer of Arabic learning to the West was considerably more limited than that of Spain or southern Italy, though somewhat less negligible than usually assumed.¹⁰³

¹⁰³ The issues touched upon in this paragraph will be dealt with in detail in my forthcoming study of intellectual activities in the Frankish Levant.

XIX

[The Samaritans in] The Frankish Period

The crusader conquest of 1099, which spelled massacre or enslavement for the Muslims and the Jews of Jerusalem and of several coastal towns, brought relatively little suffering upon the Samaritans.

The area of Nablus, like most other inland regions of the country, came into Frankish possession without major acts of combat. An anonymous twelfth-century adapter of the chronicle of Baudri of Dol, who brings the most detailed though hitherto unutilized account of the events, relates that on July 10, 1099, during the final stage of the siege of Jerusalem, Tancred and Eustache of Boulogne went north to forage for the besieging army. The next day they arrived at Nablus, forced their way into the city though not into the castle, and plundered all victuals. They intended to set fire to the city, but local Christians bearing crosses beseeched them to spare it. The inhabitants who had taken refuge in the castle consented to hand over Nablus to Tancred and Eustache should the crusaders conquer Jerusalem and, upon the fall of Jerusalem four days later, they did indeed send messengers to the two crusading chieftains, calling upon them to take possession of Nablus since the Turks had gone away¹. For the inhabitants

¹ For the adapter's version see Baldricus, episcopus Dolensis, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, MS G, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. IV (Paris, 1879), p. 100 note 13, p. 105 notes 15, 16, 19. Once the adapter's version is pieced together from the main text and the variants, it reads as follows:

“Interim dum haec agerentur, Tancredus et comes Eustachius, frater ducis, die dominica, frumentatum exierunt et totam terram usque Neapolim depraedati sunt; pauca tamen invenerunt. Summo diluculo, die Lunae, Neapolim appropinantes, in valle iuxta fluviolum, Sarracenos fugientes cum multis animalibus conspexerunt. Quos usque ad portas urbis persequentes, etiam cum illis urbem intraverunt; et totam, excepto castello, confestim ceperunt. Gentiles vero omnes in municipio castelli aufugerunt. Franci, post rapta victualia civitatis, illam incendere volebant, quum Suriani cruces ferentes, pedibus ducum prostrati, ne urbs cremaretur rogaverunt et impetraverunt. Illi autem qui in oppido erant cum illis pacti sunt, quod, si Jerusalem caperent, oppidum cum tota urbe eis traderent. Nolentes ergo ibi diu morari, scientes fratum angustias qui in castris remanserant, die Martis usque ad locum, qui Macho-

of the Nablus region, Samaritans included, the Frankish takeover thus appears to have been a relatively peaceful affair.

Samaritan buildings, though, were destroyed either during the initial crusader razzia or, more probably, at some later date, for the Samaritan Chronicle II relates that the ritual bath and the synagogue which Baba Rabba had built near Mount Gerizim "remained until the rule of the Franks", and Abu l-Fath (Chronicle VI), who brings the same information, ominously adds: "Curse them God!"² It is also plausible to assume that Samaritan inhabitants of such coastal towns as Arsuf, Caesarea and Acre shared the fate of their Muslim and Jewish neighbors, that is, were put to death or reduced to slavery³. Hence there may be a kernel of truth in the statement of the Samaritan high priest Salamah in 1808 that some six hundred years earlier the Franks had abducted to Europe the Samaritans of Ascalon and Caesarea⁴. On the whole, however, the crusader conquest did not constitute a major calamity for the Samaritans, since the *Tolida*, the Samaritan chronicle written in the mid-twelfth century, does not mention the crusader

maria dicitur, pervenerunt. Quarta feria mane, multa animalia secum adducentes et aliis victualibus onusti, cum maximo gaudio ad castra remeaverunt

...

... Interea nuntii venerunt Tancredo et comiti Eustachio, ut expedite procederunt ad recipiendam Neapolim civitatem, quia Turci reliquerant. Habitatores illius civitatis in manibus eorum se dedere, ut promissum erat, volebant. Qui, assumptis satellitibus et multis clientibus, ad urbem venerunt: que confessim eis et pacificata et redditia est. Illi nempe et armis et hominibus et victualibus multis eam munierant. Suriani et Publicani cum Saduceis ibi manebant."

On the adapter's work in general see the editor's preface, *ibid.*, pp. XIII-XIV.

² Jeffrey M. Cohen, *A Samaritan Chronicle. A Source-Critical Analysis of the Life and Times of the Great Samaritan Reformer, Baba Rabbah* (Leiden, 1981), pp. 18 (text), 71 (translation); the conjecture that *Riphṭīm* is a transliteration of 'Ripuarians' (p. 133) is inadmissible on historical grounds. - *Abulfathi Annales Samaritani*, ed. E. Vilmar (Gotha, 1865), p. 132.

³ On the conquest of these towns see for instance Joshua Prawer, *Histoire du royaume latin des Jérusalem*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1969-70), I, pp. 265-66, 270. Samaritan slaves of Frankish masters are fleetingly mentioned in Frankish law: *Livre des Assises des Bourgeois*, chap. 249, in *Les livres des assises et des usages dou reaume de Jérusalem*, ed. E. H. Kausler (Stuttgart, 1839), p. 299.

⁴ S. de Sacy, "Correspondance des Samaritans de Naplouse," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du roi et autres bibliothèques*, 12 (1831), pp. 61 (text), 75 (translation). The inhabitants of Caesarea, captured in 1101, were massacred or enslaved; but there are no grounds to assume that the inhabitants of Ascalon suffered violence when that town capitulated in 1153.

conquest of the country at all, although it notes the Seldjuk conquest of Ramla in 463/1070-71⁵.

According to the *Tractatus de locis et statu terre sancte ierosolimitanæ*, a Latin description of the Holy Land apparently dating from the closing years of the twelfth century, "the Samaritans are so unfruitful in the propagation of their stock that hardly three hundred [of them] may be encountered in the entire world."⁶ This is certainly an underestimate. Benjamin of Tudela, the Jewish traveler from Spain who passed through the Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem in about 1170, found 1000 Samaritans in Nablus, two hundred in Caesarea and three hundred in Ascalon, 1500 in all⁷. To these one should add the Samaritans of Gaza and Acre mentioned in the *Tolidah*⁸. Benjamin of Tudela found about 1200 Jews in fourteen localities of the kingdom, and thus it would seem that in twelfth-century Palestine the number of Samaritans exceeded that of the Jews – surely a unique situation. There were also Samaritans outside of Palestine. Benjamin found four hundred Samaritans in Damascus, while other sources mention Samaritans living in Egypt⁹.

⁵ J. Bowman, *Transcript of the Original Text of the Samaritan Chronicle Tolidah* (Leeds, 1954), col. 21 b; A. Neubauer, ed., *Chronique samaritaine* (Paris, 1873), pp. 24 (text), 63 (translation). [Bowman has: פָּאָסְטָוּן אַתְּהָרְבָּת פָּאָסְטָוּן; Neubauer – אַתְּהָרְבָּת פָּאָסְטָוּן.] It is noteworthy that the much later Chronicle VIIA, which mentions the crusader conquests and even the erection of the castles of Tibnîn and Safed, does not report acts of violence against Samaritans: E.-N. Adler and M. Seligsohn, eds., *Une nouvelle chronique samaritaine* (Paris, 1903), pp. 94-95.

⁶ "Alii sunt Samaritani. similiter inbelles sicut Judei. linteo circinatum caput habentes. Judeis similes in cultu. sed in mente dissimiles ualde, nam crudeles sunt inimici adinuicem, solum modo V libros Moysi seruant. literarum hebreorum partem habent sed non omnes. ydiomate sarracenico utuntur. isti ita infelices sunt in generis sui propagatione quod in toto mundo uix trecenti inueniuntur." Munich, Staatsbibliothek, MS. lat. 17060 (s. XIII), fol. 75r, ed. G. M. Thomas, in *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Philos.-philol. Classe* (Munich, 1865), part 2, p. 158; re-ed. B. Z. Kedar in *Tarbiz*, 53 (1983-84), 408. In the thirteenth century the *tractatus* was utilized by Thietmar, Jacques de Vitry and Burchard of Mount Zion.

⁷ *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. M. Adler (London, 1907), pp. 21, 22, 29 of the Hebrew text.

⁸ Bowman, *Tolidah*, col. 22b-23b; Neubauer, *Chronique*, pp. 25-26 (text), 64-65 (translation).

⁹ Cf. *Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, p. 31; on a Samaritan in Damietta, 1106, see S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, vol. II (Berkeley, 1971), p. 8; see also p. 250. On Samaritans in Egypt in general see note 18 below.

The numerical preponderance of the Samaritans of Nablus within the Samaritan community at large, which emerges from Benjamin's account, persisted throughout the Frankish period. Al-Dimashqī, the Muslim geographer who wrote in about 1300, that is, a few years after the final expulsion of the Franks in 1291, remarks that "in no other city are there as many Samaritans as there are [in Nablus], for in all other cities of Palestine there are not of the Samaritans a thousand souls."¹⁰ In Nablus itself the Samaritans were still quite conspicuous. 'Alī al-Harawī, the Muslim traveler who wrote in the latter part of the twelfth century, remarks that they "are very numerous in this town," and Yāqūt, who completed his geographical lexicon in 1225, notes that Nablus "is inhabited by the Samaritans" who possess a large 'mosque' there¹¹. Here as elsewhere the Samaritans must have been easily recognizable by their distinctive round headdress of linen cloth mentioned in the *Tractatus*¹².

In Frankish times at least one Samaritan village still existed in the vicinity of Nablus. A Latin charter of 1123 mentions that Hugh II of Jaffa donated *Saphe*, which is described as *quoddam casale Samaritanorum* (a certain village of Samaritans) in the region of Nablus, to the Monastery of St. Mary in the Valley of Josaphat¹³. The same village – the present-day *Kh. 'Asāfa*, 11 km west of Nablus – is also mentioned in a contemporary Samaritan source: this is the Torah scroll which, according to its scholium, was written in 562 H./1166–67 for the synagogue of 'Asāfa¹⁴. Samaritans lived also at 'Ayn Sārīn, Kafr Qalil and

¹⁰ Al-Dimashqī in G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems. A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from A. D. 650 to 1500 translated from the Works of Mediaeval Arab Geographers* (London, 1890; repr. Beirut, 1965), p. 513. Al-Idrīsī's remarks on the Samaritans (*ibid.*, pp. 511–512) are obviously copied from the tenth-century writer al-İṣṭakhrī (*ibid.*, p. 511).

¹¹ Abū l-Hasan 'Alī al-Harawī, *Guide des lieux des pèlerinage*, trans. Janine Sourdel-Thomine (Damascus, 1957), p. 60; Yāqūt in Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 512. Like al-İṣṭakhrī and al-Idrīsī before him, Yāqūt believes that the Samaritans live only in Nablus.¹² See note 6 above.

¹² The relevant part of the charter is printed in H. E. Mayer, *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem*, Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, vol. XXVI (Stuttgart, 1977), p. 137. A summary appears in Ch. Kohler, "Chartes de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de la Vallée de Josaphat en Terre-Sainte (1108–1291)," *Revue de l'Orient latin*, 7 (1899), 119. An act of 1186 appears to indicate that the monastery's yearly income from *Saphe*/'Asāfa amounted to 120 besants in all: Kohler, pp. 156–157, doc. XLVIII. But see Mayer's commentary in his *Bistümer*, pp. 139–140, 194–195.

¹³ A. von Gall, *Der hebräische Pentateuch der Samaritaner* (Giessen, 1918), p. LI.

'Awartā, all villages close to Nablus¹⁵, but it is not clear whether or not they formed the bulk of the population there as in 'Aṣāfa/Saphe. According to an oral tradition reported in the present century by a Samaritan high priest, in Saladin's time two hundred Samaritans were forced to become Muslims at Immatīn, a village southwest of Nablus¹⁶, yet this tradition finds no corroboration in the written sources. Several contemporary Samaritans bear the appellation Ṣarfata'ah or its Arabic equivalent *al-Ṣarafandi*, but this should not be taken as proof that the village Ṣarafand al-Kharab west of Ramla (or Ṣarafand/ *Sarepta* south of Sidon) had a Samaritan population in Frankish times, since toponymical denominations of this kind may merely denote that a relatively distant ancestor of the bearer of such an appellation originated from the locality in question¹⁷.

Throughout the period of Frankish rule, the Samaritan high priests continued to dwell in Nablus and preside over the yearly Passover sacrifice. Ernoul, a Frankish chronicler with personal ties to Nablus, explains that only at the sacred place (*moustier*) of Samaria may the Samaritans perform their sacrifices, just as the Jews of old could perform theirs only at the Temple of Jerusalem. He stresses that the Samaritans come to their sacred place for the Passover sacrifice "from the land of Egypt and from the land of Damascus and from all the pagan [i. e., Muslim] realm"¹⁸, that is, from countries with which the Franks were often at war. The Franks thus tacitly consented to the existence of the ritual center of a non-Christian religion within the boundaries of their kingdom, a state of affairs unparalleled anywhere in the Christian world. The small number of Samaritans and their pronounced submissiveness – the *Tractatus* describes them as being unfit for war like the Jews, who in turn are said to be less warlike than women¹⁹ – probably caused the Franks to regard their concession as of little

¹⁵ I. Ben-Zvi, *Sepher Heshomronim* (The Book of the Samaritans), revised edition (Jerusalem, 1970), pp. 59, 68, 165–168, 267 (Hebrew). Most localities with Samaritan population appear on the map of the crusader kingdom of Jerusalem by J. Prawer and M. Benvenisti in *Atlas of Israel* (Jerusalem and Amsterdam, 1970), Sheet IX/10.

¹⁶ Ben Zvi, *Sepher*, p. 72.

¹⁷ Ben Zvi, *Sepher*, pp. 94–95, adduces such names as evidence for Samaritan presence at Ṣarafand al-Kharab. On the problematic nature of such medieval names see B. Z. Kedar, "Toponymic Surnames as Evidence of Origin: Some Medieval Views," *Viator*, 4 (1973), 123–129; also, D. Ayalon, "Names, Titles and 'nisbas' of the Mamlūks," *Israel Oriental Studies*, 5 (1975), 222.

¹⁸ *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. L. de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1871), p. 112.

¹⁹ See note 6 above.

import. The favourable references to Samaritans in the New Testament may also have had some effect.

In all other respects the Franks treated the Samaritans like the rest of the subjugated indigenous population whether Muslim, Oriental Christian or Jewish; that is, they accorded them second-class status, but did not interfere with their internal affairs and jurisdiction²⁰. Cases involving Samaritans and non-Samaritans were adjudicated in Frankish-headed courts in which, as the French-written *Assises* put it, the Samaritans would swear *sur les cinq livres de Moyses que il tiennent*, just as the Jews would take their oath on the Torah, the Muslims on the Qur'an and the Christians on the Gospels²¹. Taking into account the proclivity of co-religionists to perjure themselves for each other's sake, the *Assises* laid down that in all cases in which the member of one religious community brought suit against the member of another group, the plaintiff could produce only sureties belonging to his opponent's community. For instance, if a Jacobite went to law against a Samaritan over a debt allegedly owed by the Samaritan, and the latter denied having contracted that debt, the Jacobite had to produce two *Samaritan* sureties, "because a Jacobite cannot stand surety against a Samaritan."²² Frankish fairness in the legal sphere finds an eloquent expression in the directives to the jurors of the Court of the Market, competent to try commercial cases concerning members of different religious communities. These directives set down the equal obligations of all comers, "because be they Syrians and Greeks or Jews or Samaritans or Nestorians or Saracens, they too are men like the Franks."²³

Franks are known to have had recourse to Samaritan physicians. William of Tyre (d. 1186), the great historian of the Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem, complains that Frankish rulers, influenced by their wives, scorn Latin medicine and put their trust only in Jews, Samaritans, Syrians and Saracens²⁴. One of these Samaritan physicians might

²⁰ On the status of the native population under Frankish rule see especially J. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (London, 1972), pp. 214-251, 503-512; J. Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, trans. Janet Shirley (Amsterdam, 1979), pp. 131-143.

²¹ *Livre des Assises des Bourgeois* (note 3 above), chap. 236, p. 272.

²² *Ibid.*, chap. 63, p. 91. See also p. 92, for a lawsuit concerning a Samaritan and a Saracen.

²³ *Ibid.*, chap. 236, p. 273. For a discussion of the entire passage see J. Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 389-390.

²⁴ Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, 18, 34, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 63 (Turnhout, 1986), p. 859. On a Samaritan physician in Alexandria see Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. II, p. 250.

have been *Abū Ishaq Ibrāhīm*, who at one point entered Saladin's service²⁵. This would not have been exceptional, for a contemporary Oriental Christian physician, *Abū Sulaymān Dawūd*, is known to have served first King Amalric of Jerusalem and then Saladin²⁶. In isolated cases Frankish-Samaritan relations may possibly have been much closer, for one version of a law ascribed to King Baldwin II of Jerusalem (1118–1131) deals with Franks who leave for a Muslim country in order to become Jews or Samaritans there²⁷.

Though the *Tractatus* describes Saracens and Jews as cruel enemies of each other, the ancient animosity appears to have subsided markedly by the twelfth century. Benjamin of Tudela writes that the 3000 Jews, one hundred Karaites and four hundred Samaritans living in Damascus were at peace with one another, though they refrained from intermarriage²⁸. Nahmanides relates that during his stay in Frankish Acre (1267–1270) he was shown an ancient Jewish coin whose legend he could not decipher; when it was shown to some Samaritans, they read it immediately²⁹. In his description of the Holy Land, an anonymous disciple of Nahmanides relates that on a Sabbath during his visit to Nablus, he held a discussion with the 'rabbi' of the Samaritans³⁰. Evidently there was some friendly intercourse between members of the two communities. But there was more to it. The Samaritan poet Aaron b. Manīr, who lived at the end of the thirteenth century, composed a hymn for the Day of Atonement which amounts to a liturgical rewriting of the 613 precepts as enumerated by Maimonides. It was apparently in his native Damascus that the Samaritan poet

²⁵ Z. Ben-Hayyim, *The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic amongst the Samaritans*, vol. I (Jerusalem, 1957), pp. xxx–xxxiv, 1–127 (Heb.); H. Pohl, ed. and trans., *Kitāb al-Mirāt. Das Buch der Erbschaft des Samaritaners Abū Ishaq Ibrāhīm* (Berlin, 1974), pp. 23–27. *Abū Ishaq Ibrāhīm* had a Samaritan disciple, the future physician and vizier Muhaqqib al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Abī Sa'īd b. Ḥalaf.

²⁶ Cf. Cl. Cahen, "Indigènes et Croisés. Quelques mots à propos d'un médecin d'Amaury et de Saladin," *Syria*, 15 (1934), 351–360.

²⁷ *Livre des Assises des Bourgeois*, chap. 235, p. 270 (MS Venice). For a discussion see my "Jews and Samaritans in the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Tarbiz*, 53 (1983–84), 402–403 (Heb.).

²⁸ *Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, p. 31. Cairene Jews who ate in Samaritan or Karaite houses were frowned upon: Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. I (Berkeley, 1967), p. 424 note 99.

²⁹ Moshe b. Nahman, *Commentaries on the Torah*, ed. H. D. Shewel, vol. II (Jerusalem, 1969), p. 507 (Heb.).

³⁰ S. Asaph, *Texts and Studies in Jewish History* (Jerusalem, 1946), p. 78 (Heb.). Asaph dates the text between 1306 and 1312: *ibid.*, p. 74.

encountered the work of the great Jewish author on which he chose to model his hymn³¹.

The information on internal Samaritan activities in the Frankish period is considerable. Mathnah of Kafr Mardan (or Mardah), who moved to Gaza in the days of the high priest Aaron b. 'Amram (1115-1137), "fixed the teaching in the synagogues and the [reading of?] hymns and lamentations." He is also said to have been the first Samaritan to write in Arabic³². The oldest Samaritan punctuation system was established in Ascalon in 534/1139-40. A Samaritan of that town, Tha'lab b. Abṭāl, challenged the system, introducing innovations apparently influenced by Jewish punctuation, and won over a considerable number of followers. The anonymous adapter of a grammatical treatise of Ibn Dartā, who condemns these innovations, brands Tha'lab as a pretentious ignoramus who lacks the command of any language³³. His tirade bears evidence to intellectual infighting among the Samaritans of Ascalon a few years before the Franks conquered the city in 1153. Another contemporary achievement was the compilation of the first part of the *Tolīdah*, the important Samaritan Chronicle III which influenced much of the later writing in this genre. The work was accomplished in 544/1149-50 - that is, some fifty years after the Frankish conquest - by El'azar, son of the high priest 'Amram and brother of the high priest Aaron³⁴. A few decades later, the above-mentioned physician Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm, who was also the greatest Samaritan grammarian, composed a treatise on Hebrew grammar as well as a tract on the laws of inheritance³⁵.

A surprising number of extant Samaritan Torah scrolls were written or purchased in the period under review. A fragment containing twenty chapters of Deuteronomy dates from 544/1149-50. In the same year a scroll changed hands³⁶ and another was purchased in 550/1155-56³⁷. In 555/1160 a Torah scroll was written for the synagogue

³¹ M. Haran, "The Samaritan Song of the Precepts of Aaron ben Manīr. A Samaritan Hymn on the 613 Precepts as Listed by Maimonides", *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, 5 (1971-1976), 174-209.

³² Bowman, *Tolidah*, col. 23ab; Neubauer, *Chronique*; pp. 25-26 (text), 64-65 (translation); Adler & Seligsohn, *Nouvelle . . .*, pp. 95-96. See also A. E. Cowley, ed., *The Samaritan Liturgy*, vol. II (Oxford, 1909), pp. XXIV-XXV.

³³ Ben Hayyim, *Literary Tradition*, vol. II (Jerusalem, 1957), pp. 318-321 (Arabic text with modern Hebrew translation); see also R. Macuch, *Grammatik des samaritanischen Hebräisch* (Berlin, 1969), pp. 59-60, 75.

³⁴ On the compilation of the *Tolīdah* see Cowley, *Samaritan Liturgy*, vol. II, p. XIX.

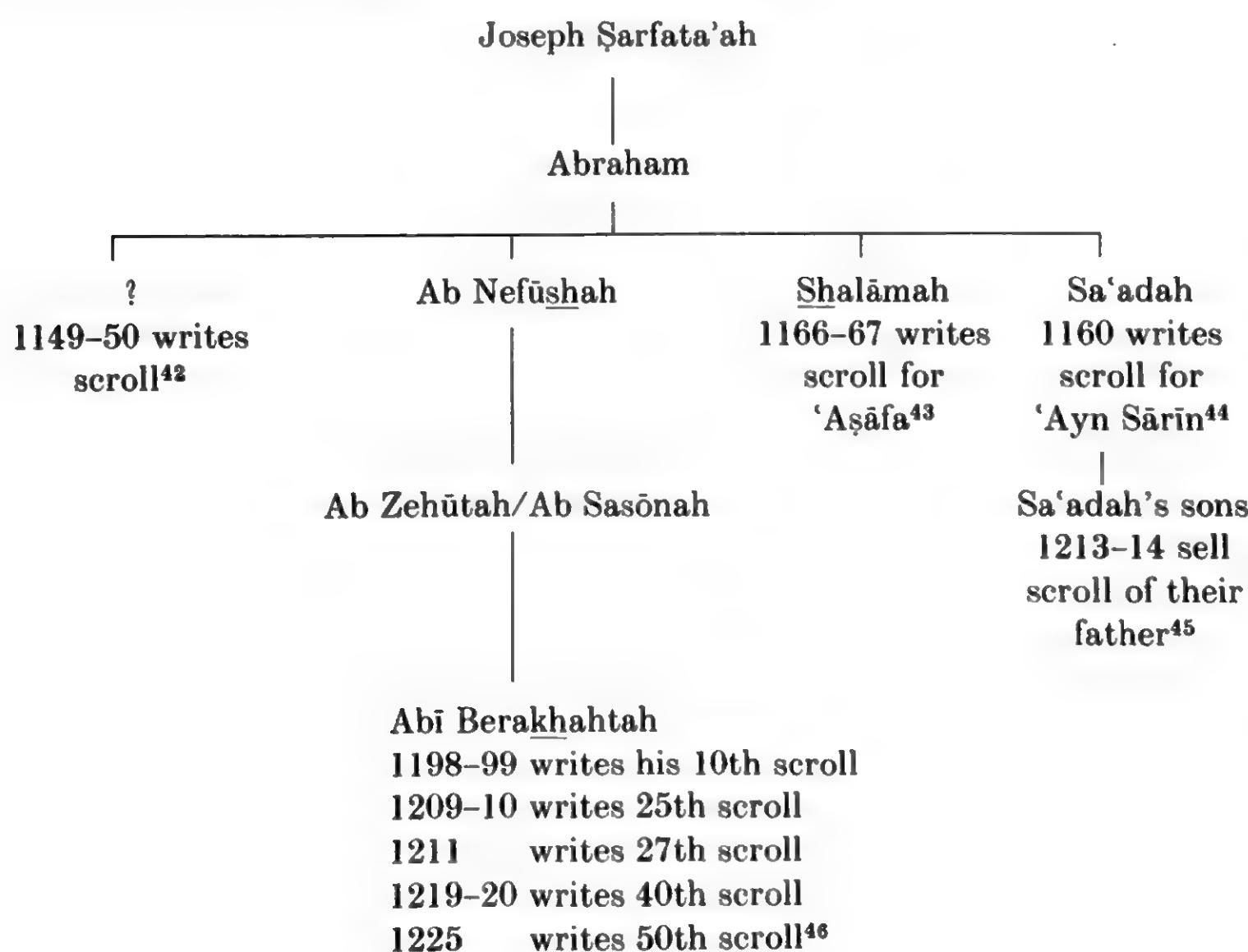
³⁵ See note 25 above.

³⁶ von Gall, *Pentateuch*, pp. LI, LXXXVI.

³⁷ Ben Zvi, *Sepher*, p. 265.

of 'Ayn Sārīn and in 562/1166–67 another one was written for the synagogue of 'Aṣāfa³⁸. A fragment of Deuteronomy dates from 577/1181–82³⁹. Thirteen scrolls were written in the years 595/1198–99 to 629/1231–32, that is, in the period after the fall of the Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem, when Palestine was partitioned between the Franks who held the coastal plain and the Ayyubids who held the interior of the country⁴⁰. The scribe of one of these scrolls, Abraham b. Israel b. Ephraim b. Joseph ha-Nasī', relates in a scholium of 629/1231–32 that he is sixty years old and the scroll he has completed is the seventy-fourth he had written. Another contemporary scribe, Abī Berakhahtah b. Ab Zehūtah b. Ab Nefūshah b. Abraham Ṣarfata'ah, attests in 622/1225 that he has completed his fiftieth book⁴¹. We can only wonder why a small community of perhaps two thousand persons needed so many scrolls.

The scholia allow for the reconstruction of one family tree, that of the scribes descending from Joseph Ṣarfata'ah:



³⁸ von Gall, *Pentateuch*, p. LI.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. VI. The scribe, [A]bī Rāshīd, may be identical with Ab Ḥasda b. Ab Nefūshah b. Ab Naṣ'ana b. Ab Rāshīd, who wrote in 585/1189–90 a book mentioned by Ben-Zvi, *Sepher*, p. 268.

Two passages of the *Tolīdah* which, on stylistical grounds, appear to have been written by different authors, deal with a Samaritan of distinguished descent named Ab Gillūga⁴⁷. If both passages refer to the same individual⁴⁸, then Ab Gillūga was the scion of a family from Gaza who lived in Acre in about 1137. Open handed with his Samaritan brethren, he donated food, clothing, gold and silver to them, repaired synagogues at his own expense, built a new one in Nablus, introduced the use of trumpets into the liturgy, and had the spring in the village of 'Awartā cleaned⁴⁹. He may be identical with the liturgical writer Ab Gillūga, a *piyyūt* and a prayer by whom are extant⁵⁰.

The major calamities which befell the Samaritans during the Frankish period were inflicted on them by Muslims. The *Tolīdah* relates that in the days of the high priest Aaron b. 'Amram (1115-37), 'Bazūgah Zaydnah' captured five hundred men, women and children in Nablus and abducted them to Damascus⁵¹. The account undoubtedly refers to Bawādj, commander of the Damascene army, who raided Nablus in 1137. William of Tyre, the only other chronicler to mention

⁴⁰ von Gall, *Pentateuch*, pp. XVI, XXXI-XXXIV, XLIV, XLV, LIX, LXXX; Ben-Zvi, *Sepher*, pp. 268, 270-272.

⁴¹ von Gall, *Pentateuch*, p. XXXIV; Ben-Zvi, *Sepher*, p. 271.

⁴² von Gall, *Pentateuch*, p. LI.

⁴³ loc. cit.

⁴⁴ Ben Zvi, *Sepher*, p. 267.

⁴⁵ von Gall, *Pentateuch*, p. XXXI.

⁴⁶ Ben Zvi, *Sepher*, pp. 268, 271; von Gall *Pentateuch*, pp. XXXII, LXXX. This scribe copied 41 scrolls between 1198-99 and 1225, or an average of 1.46 scrolls per year.

⁴⁷ Bowman, *Tolidah*, col. 22b, 24ab; Neubauer, *Chronique*, pp. 25, 26-27 (text), 64, 66-67 (translation). Cf. Adler & Seligsohn, *Nouvelle* . . . , pp. 95-97.

⁴⁸ Cowley, *Liturgy*, p. XXIII, and Ben Zvi, *Sepher*, p. 97, assume an identity. Ben-Hayyim, whose discussion is the most detailed (vol. III/2 [Jerusalem, 1967], pp. 19-20), maintains that it is not certain that both passages refer to the same man, but does not exclude the possibility.

⁴⁹ Chronicle VIIA adds: "And he made in his days the lustral water." Adler & Seligsohn, *Nouvelle* . . . , p. 97. On the restoration of a Samaritan bath-house or pool in Nablus, possibly in the twelfth century, see Z. Ben-Hayyim, "Whence the KNŠT MYH Samaritan Synagogue?" *Eretz-Israel*, vol. XIV (Jerusalem, 1978), pp. 188-190 (Heb.).

⁵⁰ M. Heidenheim, "Gebet Ab-Gelugah's," *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für englisch-theologische Forschung und Kritik*, 2 (1865), 213-231; Cowley, *Samaritan Liturgy*, vol. II, pp. 75-77; Ben Hayyim, *Literary Tradition*, vol. III/2, pp. 288-298.

⁵¹ Bowman, *Tolidah*, col. 22ab; Neubauer, *Chronique*, pp. 25 (text), 64 (translation).

this raid, merely says that some inhabitants of Nablus were killed and others fled to the castle; his Old French translator adds that the inhabitants captured by the Muslims were either killed or taken into captivity⁵². The compiler of the *Tolida*, El'azar b. 'Amram, probably an eyewitness to the events, tells not only of the abduction of the five hundred to Damascus, but also of their ransom by Ab Gillūga of Acre; apparently the Samaritan community of Damascus was too poor to ransom them. It is possible that, as on a similar occasion in 1260, some of the ransomed chose to remain in Damascus. This would account for the presence of four hundred Samaritans in that city during Benjamin of Tudela's visit a generation later.

Another calamity came upon the Samaritans when, early in September 1184, Saladin's troops raided Nablus, Sebaste, *Djenīn*, Zar'īn, *Djalūt*, and the vicinity of the castle of Belvoir. In Nablus, some inhabitants fled to the castle for safety; the town itself was plundered and set afire⁵³. Ibn *Djubayr*, the Muslim traveler from Spain, relates that "the hands of the Muslims were filled with prisoners beyond numbers from the Franks and from a sect of Jews called Samaritans, related to al-Sāmīrī." The first prisoners arrived in Damascus on September 13, just as Ibn *Djubayr* was leaving the city for Acre⁵⁴.

If taken literally, Ibn *Djubayr*'s description would suggest that Saladin's men captured only Franks and Samaritans, without harming the local Muslim and Oriental Christian inhabitants. It would follow that the Muslims considered the Samaritans as enjoying a favored status under Frankish rule and therefore singled them out for punishment. The above-mentioned oral tradition, according to which the Samaritans of the village of *Immatīn* were coerced into converting to Islam in Saladin's time, would tie in with this conjecture. However it is also possible that Ibn *Djubayr* mentioned the Samaritans not because they were the only non-Frankish prisoners taken in the September 1184 raid, but because he was intrigued by his encounter with

⁵² Guillaume de Tyr (note 24 above), 14, 27, pp. 666-667; for the Old French translation see *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. I (Paris, 1845), p. 647.

⁵³ The events at Nablus are described in King Baldwin IV's letter to the Patriarch Eraclius, preserved in Radulf of Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series 68 (London, 1876), vol. II, p. 28. On September 7 as the day of the attack on Nablus and other details see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, ed. M. Ziadeh, vol. I/A (Cairo, 1934), p. 84.

⁵⁴ *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, ed. W. Wright and M. J. de Goeje (Leiden and London, 1907), p. 299. I am indebted to the late Prof. Eliyahu Ashtor for having provided a literal translation of this passage.

members of the little-known community, related to the Qur'anic figure of al-Sāmīrī.

Three years later, in July 1187, the Franks were defeated at the Battle of Hattīn and the first Frankish Kingdom collapsed within a matter of weeks. The region of Nablus, with the rest of the country, came under Muslim rule. The second Frankish Kingdom, which came to life as a result of the Third Crusade of 1189–1192, was initially confined to the coastal plain. In 1229 the Franks extended their rule to Jerusalem and Bethlehem and in 1240–41 they recovered for a brief span of time most of Palestine, with the exception however of the region of Nablus which remained in Ayyubid hands. On October 30, 1242, Nablus was raided by the Franks, who plundered the city and set it on fire, massacring many Muslims as well as Oriental Christians, and taking others in captivity⁵⁵. This was the last time the Franks set foot in Nablus.

Thus, during the one-hundred-years-long existence of the second Frankish Kingdom (1191–1291), most Samaritans of Palestine lived outside its borders. There were some Samaritans in the Frankish-ruled coastal cities of Caesarea and Acre, but very little is known about them⁵⁶.

The fate of the Samaritans of Nablus during the Frankish raid of 1242 is not known. However, Samaritans were among the victims of the brief Mongol invasion of Palestine in 1260. The *Tōlidah* relates that the invaders killed many inhabitants of Nablus, captured Samaritan men, women and children – including 'Uzzi, son of the high priest 'Amram b. Itamar – and carried them to Damascus. There they were redeemed by members of the local Samaritan community⁵⁷.

The intensification of Muslim religious zeal during the final stage of the struggle against the Franks, also had repercussions for the Samaritans. Chronicle VIIA relates that after the fall of Frankish Antioch

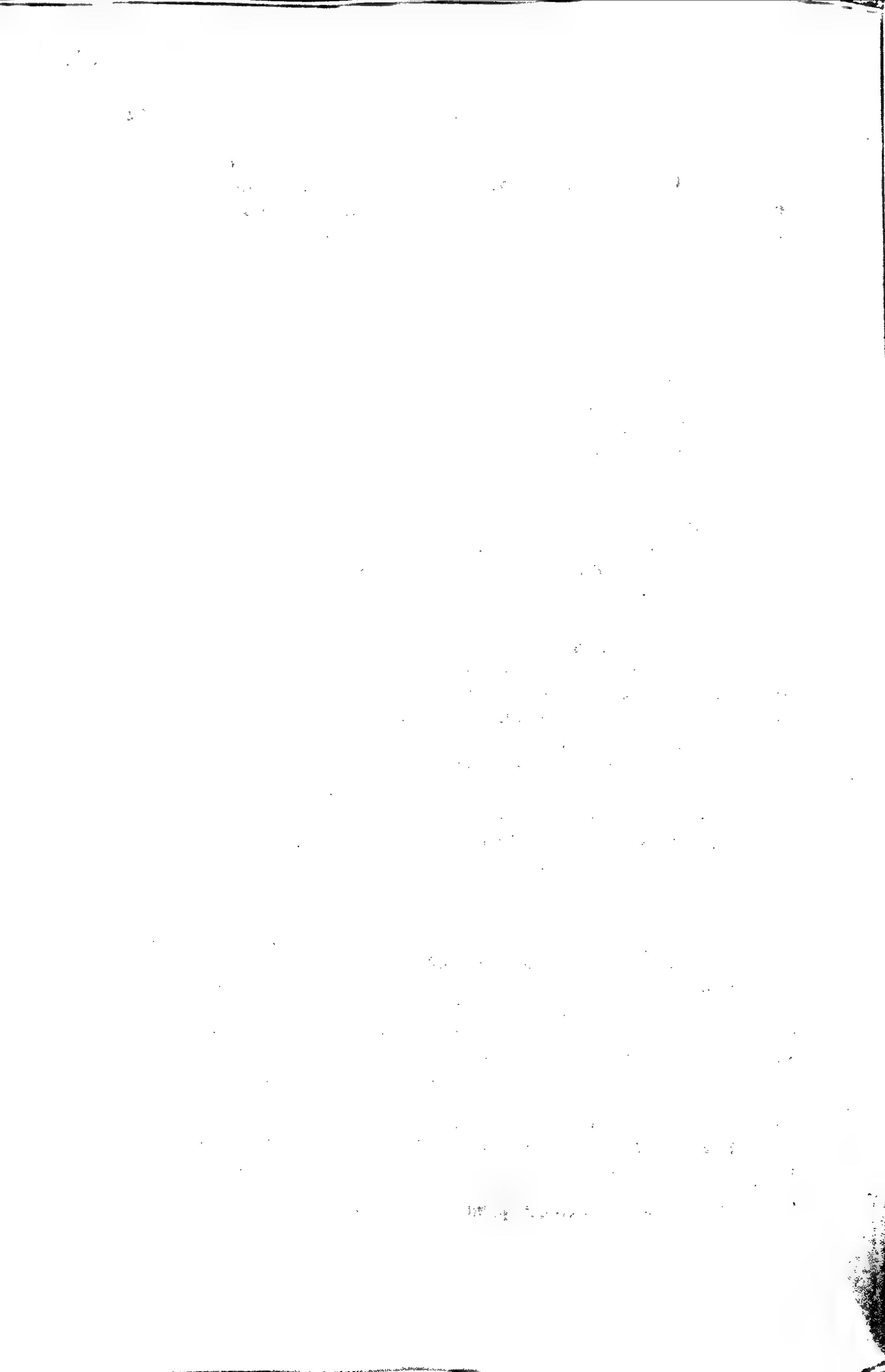
⁵⁵ For the date see al-Maqrīzī, *Histoire d'Egypte*, trans. E. Blochet in *Revue de l'Orient latin*, 10 (1903–04), 350; for the other details see the *Chronicle of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, quoted there in note 2 on pp. 350–351. On the background see for instance Prawer (note 3 above), II, p. 306.

⁵⁶ According to Ben-Zvi's interpretation of a scholium, a scroll was written in 629/1231–32 for a Samaritan of Caesarea: Ben Zvi, *Sepher*, p. 272. On Samaritans in Acre in about 1270 see note 29 above.

⁵⁷ Bowman, *Tolidah*, col. 25ab; Neubauer, *Chronique*, pp. 27–28 (text), 67 (translation). Neubauer believed that the passage refers to the Khwarezmian invasion of 1244. But there can be little doubt that the Mongol invasion of 1260 is meant here, because the Samaritan chronicler relates that it occurred in the sixth year of the high priest 'Amram, whose father Ithamar served in this office for 48 years, after having moved from Damascus to Nablus in 602/1205.

(1268), Tripoli (1289), and Beirut (1291), the Muslims evicted the (Oriental) Christians from Nablus, destroyed their churches, and expropriated the Samaritan prayer-place at 'the parcel of the ground.'⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Adler & Seligsohn, *Nouvelle . . .*, p. 99.



XX

UN PROJET DE « PASSAGE PARTICULIER » PROPOSÉ PAR L'ORDRE DE L'HÔPITAL 1306-1307

par

BENJAMIN Z. KEDAR
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Connu de quelques historiens seulement, l'un des plus importants traités intitulés *De recuperatione Terrae sanctae*, genre qui apparaît après la chute d'Acre en 1291, est resté inédit jusqu'à ce jour, bien qu'il fasse partie d'un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris que connaissent bien les historiens des croisades. Ce manuscrit (lat. 7470), copié au début du XIV^e siècle, contient entre autres le *De statu Saracenorūm* de Guillaume de Tripoli et la *Devise des chemins de Babiloīne*, mémoire militaire adressé à l'Occident par l'ordre de l'Hôpital, probablement entre les années 1289 et 1291¹. Ce dernier mémoire est suivi du projet de croisade dont il est question ici². Les deux textes, le mémoire et le plan de croisade, qui sont écrits en français, portent une rubrique latine pratiquement identique : *Incipit tractatus dudum habitus ultra mare per magistrum et conventum Hospitalis et per alios probos viros qui diu steterunt ultra*

1. Delaville Le Roulx date le manuscrit de 1323 à 1328 (J. Delaville Le Roulx, *La France en Orient au XIV^e siècle. Expéditions du maréchal Boucicaut*, t. I, Paris, 1866, p. 80, note). Le traité de Guillaume de Tripoli est publié dans H. Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge*, Berlin, 1883, p. 575-598. La *Devise* est publiée dans *Itinéraires à Jérusalem et descriptions de la Terre sainte rédigés en français aux XI^e, XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, éd. H. Michelant et G. Raynaud, Paris, 1882, p. 239-252. Cf. aussi Ch. Schefer, *Étude sur la Devise des chemins de Babiloīne*, dans *Archives de l'Orient latin*, t. II (1884), p. 89-101.

2. Bibl. nat., ms. lat. 7470, fol. 172 r^o-178 v^o. Le texte est publié en appendice (*infra*, p. 220-226).

mare... Il en découle que le projet de croisade avait été élaboré par l'ordre de l'Hôpital en Orient ; son contenu indique qu'il avait été adressé, en premier lieu, au Saint-Siège.

Le projet des Hospitaliers s'oppose fortement à un *passage général*, à une croisade de grande envergure. Une armée croisée qui prendrait la route terrestre arriverait en Orient diminuée et épuisée, de sorte que les armées réunies du Sultanat la mettraient aisément en déroute ; une armée croisée qui prendrait la route maritime atteindrait le Sultanat en ordre dispersé et ses éléments deviendraient une proie facile pour les Sarrasins. C'est la raison pour laquelle les Hospitaliers proposent une stratégie totalement différente. Au lieu d'un assaut massif contre le Sultanat par une expédition croisée de grande envergure, ils recommandent une guerre d'usure prolongée qui affaiblirait l'ennemi suffisamment pour qu'un assaut final, porté par des forces venues d'Occident, et en nombre relativement limité, se réduise au coup de grâce.

Pour mettre cette stratégie en œuvre, les Hospitaliers engagent le Saint-Siège à lever une force de mille chevaliers et quatre mille arbalétriers qui serviraient pendant une période de cinq années consécutives, et une flotte de soixante galères qui serviraient, au cours de la même période, huit mois par an¹. Cette force, basée sur les îles de Rhodes et de Chypre, imposerait un blocus naval au Sultanat et lancerait des incursions sur ses côtes. Ces raids, mais surtout le blocus des côtes du Sultanat, ruineraient son économie : le pays serait privé non seulement des produits importés d'Europe par les « mauvais crestiens », mais perdrait également le marché européen pour ses produits d'exportation, tels que le coton de Syrie². En outre, du fait de ce blocus, le royaume chrétien d'Arménie hériterait du rôle de l'Égypte

1. Ceci semblerait indiquer que la navigation hivernale était encore considérée, à cette époque, comme exceptionnelle.

2. Sur l'exportation du coton, cf. E. Ashtor, *The Venetian cotton trade in Syria in the later Middle Ages*, dans *Studi medievali*, t. XVII (1976), p. 675-715. Notre traité, qui fait mention de la « grant quantité de coton que les naves et mult de gualees vont chascun an manifestement a charger » au royaume de Ssam (Syrie), démontre l'importance considérable du commerce du coton syrien dès le début du XIV^e siècle.

comme intermédiaire entre les Indes et l'Europe. Actuellement, selon ce que les Hospitaliers ont pu apprendre, le sultan perçoit de la seule Alexandrie un revenu mensuel de plus de 40 000 florins d'or¹. Du fait de l'interception de son commerce, il perdrat l'énorme revenu que lui procurent ses ports. En outre, le recrutement des Mamelouks et l'importation de contrebande de guerre seraient interrompus. Le sultan, aussi bien que son armée, subiraient ainsi un lourd dommage, tandis que, encouragés par ces succès, beaucoup de chrétiens se joindraient aux forces opérant en Orient, les uns par « devacion », les autres « pour covoitize de gaignyer ».

Dans l'éventualité d'une offensive des Mongols contre le Sultanat, l'armée chrétienne pourrait profiter de ce que toutes les forces des Mamelouks seraient attirées en Syrie pour opérer une descente en Égypte : celle-ci étant laissée sans défense, il serait possible aux chrétiens de remonter le Nil jusqu'au Caire, de s'emparer de la ville et de « tout le tresor et la gloire de Paynime », au lieu, comme en 1300, de se borner à l'occupation d'une île de la côte syrienne, ce dont les musulmans avaient eu lieu de louer « lour Machoumet » en voyant quelle occasion ils avaient laissé passer.

De toute façon, des débarquements ponctuels sur la côte syrienne, renouvelés au cours de ces cinq années, affaibliraient le Sultanat au point qu'une expédition de croisés d'envergure relativement restreinte suffirait, au stade suivant, pour provoquer sa défaite définitive.

A quelle époque ce projet des Hospitaliers a-t-il été élaboré? Le projet fait état de Rhodes et de Chypre comme bases d'opérations ; il faut donc admettre que les Hospitaliers sont déjà établis à Rhodes. Toutefois, la conquête de

1. Le revenu annuel devait, en conséquence, être de 480 000 florins. Fidenzio de Padoue estimait, au début de l'année 1291, que le revenu quotidien qu'Alexandrie procurait au sultan dépassait 1 000 florins (*Liber recuperationis Terre sancte*, éd. G. Golubovich dans sa *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra santa e dell'Oriente francescano*, t. II, Quaracchi, 1913, p. 47), ce qui donnerait un total annuel de 365 000 florins. Mais un voyageur français qui avait parcouru l'Égypte en 1512 rapporte que la *douanne* d'Alexandrie était assurée pour 250 000 dinars *ashrafi* par an, équivalent de 250 000 florins ; voir Jean Thénaud, *Le voyage d'Outremer*, éd. Ch. Schœfer, Paris, 1884, p. 27 ; cf. E. Ashtor, *The volume of Levantine trade in the later Middle Ages*, dans *Journal of European Economic History*, t. IV (1975), p. 609-610.

l'île par les Hospitaliers, à la suite des difficultés rencontrées par leur ordre à Chypre, avait été une entreprise malaisée. En septembre 1306, les chevaliers avaient attaqué le château de Rhodes pour la première fois et avaient occupé le château de Phéraclos sur la côte orientale de l'île. Du fait de la forte résistance opposée par les défenseurs du château de Rhodes, les Hospitaliers avaient dû amener le reste de leurs forces — « *el resto del convento loro* » — de Chypre. Ces opérations se prolongèrent pendant plusieurs années, et ce n'est qu'en 1310 que les Hospitaliers parvinrent à soumettre toute l'île¹. Or, du fait que leur projet assigne un rôle identique à Rhodes et à Chypre, et qu'il mentionne même le nom de Rhodes avant celui de Chypre, on peut plausiblement supposer, à ce stade, qu'il a été élaboré à un moment où une partie au moins de l'île était aux mains des Hospitaliers, c'est-à-dire après le mois de septembre 1306.

Si l'on se tient au texte de la rubrique latine, le *terminus ad quem* du projet peut être déterminé avec quelque précision. Selon la rubrique, le projet soumet des propositions formulées par le maître et le couvent de l'ordre des Hospitaliers à une réunion tenue en Orient. Or, le maître de l'ordre, Foulques de Villaret, avait quitté Chypre après le 3 novembre 1306, date à laquelle un chapitre général, tenu à Limassol, lui avait accordé les pleins pouvoirs pour régler les affaires de l'ordre en Occident. Il était arrivé à la cour pontificale à Poitiers entre le 14 mai et le 31 août 1307 : son arrivée était attendue à la première date et sa présence à Poitiers est mentionnée à la seconde². Depuis cette date,

1. *Chronique d'Amadi*, éd. R. de Mas Latrie, Paris, 1891, p. 257 ; A. Luttrell, *The Hospitaliers at Rhodes, 1306-1421*, dans *A History of the Crusades*, publ. par K. M. Setton, t. III, Madison (Wisconsin), 1975, p. 284. Pour la date de la conquête définitive, voir *infra*, p. 219. — Il est vrai que, dès le 5 septembre 1307, Clément V, confirmant la possession de Rhodes par l'ordre, considère que toute l'île est entre ses mains (*Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, 1100-1310*, éd. J. Delaville Le Roux, t. IV, Paris, 1906 [abrégé ci-après en *Cartulaire*], n° 4751, p. 144-145). Toutefois il anticipait ainsi sur l'événement, car, le 17 mars 1309 encore, Jacques d'Aragon faisait allusion à la possibilité que les Hospitaliers pourraient « conquerre ço que roman de la illa de Rodes » (H. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, t. III, Berlin, 1922, n° 91, p. 198). Fidenzio de Padoue suggérait, dès 1291, que Rhodes pourrait être utilisée comme base par les galères chrétiennes qui tenteraient d'imposer le blocus naval de l'Égypte (*Liber recuperationis*, p. 49). Toutefois, Rhodes est mentionnée après Chypre, Acre et l'île de Rouad.

2. Foulques à Limassol, le 3 novembre 1306 : *Cartulaire*, n° 4735, p. 137.

Foulques était resté en Occident jusqu'au début de 1310. Par conséquent, la réunion dont la rubrique fait mention n'a pu avoir lieu qu'avant le départ de Foulques pour l'Occident, départ qui a dû avoir lieu, au plus tard, au début de l'été de 1307. Il ressort de ce qui précède que le projet a été élaboré entre septembre 1306 et l'été de 1307. Étant donné que la rubrique précise que la réunion a eu lieu *dudum*, il se peut que le projet soit antérieur à sa rédaction ; il peut avoir été élaboré en 1306-1307, quand Foulques était en Orient, et soumis à la curie en 1307-1308. Dans tous les cas, le projet a influencé le cours des événements politiques dès l'été de 1308, comme on le montrera ci-après.

Le fait que le projet envisage une coopération avec les Mongols est conforme aux supputations qui avaient cours, en ces mêmes années, à la curie pontificale et dans les cours d'Europe. La tentative faite par l'Il-Khān *Ghazan*, en 1299-1300, pour organiser une expédition mongole-chrétienne conjointe contre le Sultanat ; les ambassades qu'il dépêcha en Occident en 1300-1301 ; les rumeurs qui avaient cours en Europe, en 1300, à propos de la reconquête de la Terre sainte par les Mongols et les Arméniens et de l'offre faite par le *khān* mongol de la rendre à la chrétienté, tout cela contribuait à renforcer, dans les années qui suivirent l'an 1300, les espoirs qu'avaient les Occidentaux de conclure une alliance avec les Mongols dans la lutte contre les Mamelouks. D'ailleurs, la politique de *Ghazan* fut poursuivie par son frère Öljeitü qui lui succéda (1304-1316)¹. Tandis que son ambassade en Occident séjournait à la curie à Poitiers (26 juin-4 août 1307), la rumeur courut que les Mongols avaient proposé, au cas où une croisade serait

138. Jean Burgundi informe Jacques II, le 14 mai 1307, de l'arrivée attendue de Foulques à Poitiers : H. Finke, *Papsttum und Untergang des Templerordens*, t. II, Münster, 1907, n° 24, p. 36. Foulques à Poitiers, le 31 août 1307 : *Cartulaire*, n° 4749, p. 143-144. Cf. A. Luttrell, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus after 1291*, dans *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West, 1291-1440. Collected Studies*, London, 1978, II, p. 166, n. 4. (Le présent article était pratiquement rédigé quand nous avons eu connaissance de cette étude de M. Luttrell, qui mentionne, p. 162, n. 1, le projet hospitalier du ms. lat. 7470.)

1. Sur tous ces points, voir D. Sinor, *The Mongols and Western Europe*, dans *A History of the Crusades*, publ. par K. M. Setton, t. III, p. 535-539 ; Sylvia Schein, *Gesta Dei per Mongolos, 1300 : the genesis of a non-event*, dans *English Historical Review*, t. XCIV (1979), p. 805-819.

décidée, d'engager 100 000 cavaliers et de fournir aux croisés 100 000 chevaux¹. De fait, Clément V et Charles II d'Anjou avaient envisagé, à l'époque, la possibilité que les Mongols pussent conquérir la Terre sainte et la rendre aux chrétiens, avant même le lancement d'une croisade². Toutefois, dans les années qui suivirent, les conflits entre Mongols et Mamelouks devinrent moins fréquents ; les relations militaires et politiques entre les Mongols et l'Occident furent, dès lors, mises en sommeil. Ceci ne pouvait, bien sûr, être prévu en 1306-1307 quand les Hospitaliers élaborèrent leur projet de croisade³.

Ce projet n'était pas le seul que les Hospitaliers eussent élaboré au cours de ces années. Dans le courant de 1305-1306, le grand maître de l'ordre, Foulques de Villaret, avait soumis un projet à Clément V⁴. Pourquoi donc l'ordre a-t-il élaboré deux projets différents en un si bref laps de temps ? La comparaison des deux projets fournit un début de réponse à cette question : les deux projets se complètent ; le mémoire présenté par Foulques trace les grandes lignes du projet, alors que le projet des Hospitaliers dont il est question ici en étudie le détail.

L'importance du projet des Hospitaliers ne réside pas dans son originalité : la collaboration avec les Mongols et le blocus naval de l'Égypte sont préconisés par la plupart des traités *De recuperatione* de cette époque. Ce projet se distingue des autres en ceci qu'il a fait l'objet d'une tentative réelle d'exécution. Le 11 août 1308, Clément V publiait la bulle *Exsurgat Deus*, qui prescrivait l'envoi, sous la direction des Hospitaliers, d'une expédition très semblable à celle qu'envisageait le projet des Hospitaliers : 1 000 chevaliers et 4 000 fantassins devaient partir au printemps de l'année 1309 et rester en Orient pendant cinq

1. Finke, *Papsttum und Untergang...*, t. II, n° 25, p. 38 et n. 3.

2. E. Baluze, *Vitae paparum Avenionensium*, éd. G. Mollat, Paris, 1916-1921, t. III, p. 138. Affirmations concordantes dans Schein, *Gesta Dei per Mongolos*.

3. En mars 1308 encore, Clément V s'attendait à ce que les Mongols aident la chrétienté dans sa lutte pour la conquête de la Terre sainte (*Regestum Clementis V*, n° 3549). L'idée d'une coopération avec les Mongols a persisté dans l'esprit des théoriciens de la croisade pendant plusieurs décennies ; cf. Delaville Le Roulx, *La France en Orient...*, t. I, p. 11-110.

4. *Cartulaire*, n° 4681, p. 105-110.

ans. L'objet de cette expédition était de défendre les royaumes chrétiens de Chypre et d'Arménie ; de sévir contre les chrétiens qui trafiquaient illégalement avec le Sultanat ; et de repousser les Sarrasins autant que possible¹. Le nombre des chevaliers et des troupes à pied concorde exactement avec le nombre prévu par le projet des Hospitaliers ; il en va de même pour la durée prévue de l'expédition. L'influence du projet des Hospitaliers sur la bulle est évidente. Il n'y a rien là de surprenant, puisque la présence de Foulques à la cour pontificale est attestée à plusieurs reprises entre le 31 août 1307 et le 11 août 1308, date de la promulgation de la bulle *Exsurgat Deus*². Toutefois, alors que les Hospitaliers n'avaient pas choisi de terme précis pour désigner l'expédition préliminaire de croisade qu'ils préféraient à un *passage général*, le pape, attaché aux formes légales, et qui avait défini dans sa bulle les objectifs de l'expédition comme *pontes et vias ad idem generale passagium preparando*, avait utilisé à cet effet une expression qui allait connaître dans la suite une grande vogue chez ceux qui projetèrent ultérieurement des croisades : *passagium particulare*. Cette expression désignait une expédition d'envergure limitée mais de longue durée — stratégie déjà adoptée au XIII^e siècle. La différence entre le *passagium particulare* et le *passagium generale* (c'est-à-dire la croisade traditionnelle) était donc quantitative. Les deux étaient considérés comme des croisades dans l'entièvre acception légale du terme³.

La décision prise par Clément V en faveur du plan hospitalier avait probablement été encouragée par la confiance des Hospitaliers qui — selon Jacques II d'Aragon — étaient

1. *Cartulaire*, n° 4807, p. 178-182. En ce qui concerne le nombre de vaisseaux, il faut remarquer qu'un informateur génois rapportait à Jacques II, le 8 janvier 1309, que le pape et Foulques projetaient d'armer 40 galères (Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, t. III, n° 88, p. 191).

2. *Cartulaire*, n° 4749, 4786, 4792, 4800, 4801 ; Baluze et Mollat, *Vitae paparum Avenionensium*, t. II, p. 48.

3. L'expression est utilisée par Clément V dans sa lettre du 20 septembre 1308 à Philippe le Bel (*Regestum Clementis V*, n° 2986). Pour la genèse de cette expression, voir L. Thier, *Kreuzzugsbemühungen unter Papst Clemens V., 1305-1314*, Werl (Westf.), 1973, p. 96, n. 74. Mais l'expression se trouve déjà dans une bulle de Boniface VIII du 9 août 1301 (*Registres de Boniface VIII*, n° 4380, 4382).

persuadés qu'ils auraient repris possession soit de Jérusalem, soit d'Antioche, dans les cinq années suivantes¹. Clément V estimait en outre que les royaumes de Chypre et d'Arménie étaient en danger de destruction imminente ; il savait aussi que le *passage général* que devait diriger le roi de France, Philippe le Bel, ne pourrait pas être entrepris dans un avenir prévisible ; il n'est donc pas surprenant qu'il ait choisi d'adopter, avec l'agrément de Philippe, un projet limité mais réalisable immédiatement. De sorte que l'expédition ordonnée pour le printemps de 1309, sous la direction des Hospitaliers, devait servir d'étape préparatoire à un *passage général*, dans une conjoncture où il était impossible de lancer une croisade de grande envergure.

Le *passagium particulare* dirigé par les Hospitaliers devait se heurter à des difficultés dès le stade des préparatifs. Jacques II d'Aragon s'opposa à l'expédition, car il soupçonnait les Hospitaliers d'avoir pour véritable objectif la conquête définitive de Rhodes ; il tenta, par conséquent, d'empêcher ses sujets de prendre part à l'entreprise ou de lui procurer des approvisionnements. Philippe le Bel se plaignit de ce que Foulques de Villaret, qui avait été nommé à la tête de l'expédition, ne le tenait pas au courant de l'état des préparatifs, et de ce que les Français n'avaient obtenu aucune fonction marquante dans l'entreprise ; il s'abstint donc de fournir le subside de 100 000 florins d'or qu'il avait promis. Des difficultés inattendues surgirent pour la collecte des contributions des fidèles. Des seigneurs français confisquèrent le bois destiné à la construction des galères des Hospitaliers. Au printemps de 1309, l'entreprise tout entière était au bord de l'effondrement. Mais Foulques continuait ses préparatifs sans désemparer². Finalement, en septembre 1309, l'expédition fut en état de s'embarquer. Le mauvais temps provoqua la perte de plusieurs vaisseaux

1. Jacques II d'Aragon à ses ambassadeurs à la curie, le 17 mars 1309 : « Desa se diu, quels Espitalers donen entendre al senyor papa, que dins V annys li auran per guerra o per plet Jerusalem o Antiochia ». (Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, t. III, n° 91, p. 199). Cf. aussi Finke, *Papstium und Untergang...*, t. II, n° 126, p. 243.

2. Sur tous ces points, voir F. Heidelberger, *Kreuzzugsversuche um die Wende des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1911, p. 38-52 ; J. S. C. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050-1310*, London, 1967, p. 222-226 ; Thier, *Kreuzzugsbemühungen...*, p. 82-89.

et la flotte dut hiverner à Brindisi. A ce moment, l'expédition comptait environ 26 galères, 200 ou 300 chevaliers et 3 000 hommes à pied, c'est-à-dire moins du tiers du nombre des chevaliers prévu par le projet hospitalier et la bulle pontificale, et les trois quarts seulement du nombre des troupes à pied. Au printemps de 1310, le corps mit à la voile pour l'Orient ; le 13 mai, Venise, qui avait craint que l'entreprise ne se tournât contre ses possessions de la mer Égée, avait reçu des assurances conciliantes envoyées par Foulques qui se trouvait alors dans les eaux grecques. Arrivée à Rhodes, l'expédition vint en aide aux Hospitaliers de l'île pour l'achèvement de sa conquête et de celle de quelques îles adjacentes¹.

Les tentatives ultérieures faites pour interrompre le commerce des « mauvais crestiens » avec le Sultanat avaient suscité des frictions entre les Hospitaliers et les républiques maritimes de Gênes et de Venise dont la prospérité dépendait largement du commerce levantin². De même, un blocus du Sultanat dépendait de la coopération des puissances maritimes, qui pouvaient difficilement appuyer une politique qui portait préjudice à leurs intérêts. C'est pour ces raisons que la stratégie de blocus naval proposée par le projet hospitalier, comme par d'autres traités de croisades, devait n'obtenir que des succès limités.

Ceci veut-il dire pour autant que l'expédition de 1309-1310 ne répondit pas aux espoirs que les Hospitaliers avaient placés en elle au moment où ils avaient élaboré leur projet de *passagium particulare*? Il est évident que l'expédition ne réalisa pas les objectifs déclarés du projet hospitalier, puisque ses effets sur la situation militaire et économique

1. Bernard Gui († 1331) dans Baluze et Mollat, *Vitae paparum Avenionensis*, t. I, p. 67, 68-69 ; Luttrell, *The Hospitallers at Rhodes*, p. 285 (fondé sur des documents vénitiens inédits).

2. Cf. G. Caro, *Genua und die Mächte am Mittelmeer, 1257-1311 : Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des 13. Jahrhunderts*, t. II, Halle, 1899, p. 383-385 ; A. Luttrell, *Venice and the Knights Hospitallers of Rhodes in the Fourteenth Century*, dans *Papers of the British School at Rome*, t. XXVI (1958), p. 195-212 ; du même, *The Hospitallers at Rhodes*, p. 286-287. Pour la carrière d'un « mauvais crestien » de marque, à cette époque, cf. B. Z. Kedar, *Segurano-Sakrān Salvaygo : un mercante genovese al servizio dei sultani mamalucchi, c. 1303-1322*, dans *Fatti e idee di storia economica nei secoli XII-XX. Studi dedicati a Franco Borlandi*, Bologna, 1977, p. 75-91.

du Sultanat furent nuls ou négligeables. Mais ces objectifs étaient-ils les seuls, voire les plus immédiats, du projet des Hospitaliers? On a vu que l'assaut initial porté contre Rhodes s'était heurté, en septembre 1306, à une vive résistance; l'appui du restant des forces des Hospitaliers demeuré à Chypre n'aurait pas suffi à emporter la décision. Telle était la situation au moment où, selon notre raisonnement, les Hospitaliers d'Orient élaborèrent leur projet qui prévoyait pour Rhodes un rôle central dans l'entreprise de reconquête de la Terre sainte. Se pourrait-il que l'objectif immédiat du projet eût été de recruter des renforts en Occident pour la conquête totale de Rhodes, ce qui expliquerait que Rhodes figure dans ce projet, avant Chypre elle-même, comme base d'opération pour les actions des forces chrétiennes contre le Sultanat? Si Rhodes devait servir de base chrétienne principale, elle devait être d'abord conquise entièrement. En conséquence, le premier objectif pratique de l'expédition envisagée devait être la conquête de Rhodes; les autres objectifs — le blocus naval du Sultanat et le harcèlement de ses côtes — ne pouvaient être abordés qu'après l'établissement d'une base assurée des Hospitaliers dans l'île de Rhodes. Jacques II d'Aragon pouvait donc avoir vu parfaitement juste quand il exprimait, le 17 mars 1309, le soupçon que la *major cura* des Hospitaliers était de « conquerre la partida que tenen los Turchs en Rodes e les illes de Romania »¹.

Si tel était bien l'objectif immédiat du projet des Hospitaliers, on peut dire que celui-ci a bien été atteint par l'expédition de 1309-1310.

APPENDICE

Le traité hospitalier qui fait l'objet de la présente étude est publié ici d'après le ms. Bibl. nat., lat. 7470 qui, selon Delaville Le Roux, devrait être daté entre 1323 et 1328 (cf. *supra*, p. 211, n. 1). Une autre copie de ce traité se trouve dans le ms. 1654 de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, à Paris. Il est évident que le scribe chargé de faire cette copie, dont la langue et l'orthographe sont beaucoup plus modernes,

1. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, t. III, n° 91, p. 199.

connaissait mal le sujet du traité : pour *Beymont* (= Bohémond) dans le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque nationale, il écrit *Saiemont*; *Ssam* (= Syrie) devient *Soyn* ou *Sain*. Le scribe a également mal compris certains passages et a tenté de les paraphraser. Ce manuscrit reste toutefois utile puisqu'il procure à trois occasions des mots omis dans le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque nationale. Ces mots, incorporés dans notre édition, sont imprimés entre <>. D'autres additions et altérations importantes du manuscrit de Sainte-Geneviève sont reproduites dans les notes ; on n'a pas retenu les variantes purement orthographiques, ni celles qui concernent l'ordre des mots dans la phrase, non plus que d'autres différences mineures qui n'altèrent pas le contenu du texte.

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Sigles : *N* = Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 7470, fol. 172 r°-178 v°.

S = Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève 1654, fol. 147 v°-151 r°.

INCIPIT TRACTATUS DUDUM HABITUS ULTRA MARE PER MAGISTRUM ET CONVENTUM HOSPITALIS ET PER ALIOS PROBOS VIROS QUI DIU STETERUNT ULTRA MARE : QUALITER TERRA SANCTA POSSIT PER CHRISTIANOS RECUPERARI^a.

Question est sur la maner de recoverer la Terre saint que Ihesu Crist deigna naister, suffrir poine et mort, et resuscita por deliverer humain linage, qui portoit en infer la poine dou peché original de nostre primer pere et nostre primier mere, Adam et Eve^b. Et sacra la terre de soy^c benoist sanc pour sauver nous autres, qui estoions a venir, les quiex il receut par sa doctrine et le saint baptesme as filz d'adomtion pour avoir part^d en son patremoine et en son regne. Et avoit ordiné devant de touz les secles que le jour dou jugement vendra juger les mors et vis^e en la susdite Terre saincte. Et eçaux^f qui en son serviz averont emplee lour vie et en esperanz de morir pour lui si com il fist pour nous, serront heirs dou patremoine de Ihesu Crist et serront apelez au regne Dieu le Peer. Et la plus prochainne vee d'antor chascun crestien au desus dit regne, qu'il met son cors sarine toutes les graces que Diex li a donees^g a deliverer la dite sainte

a. Ci commence .i. autre traité qui fu pieça accordé entre la mer par le mestre de l'Ospital et par autres preudes homes qui longuement ont demouré oultre la mer et enseignie coment la Terre sainte puet estre recouvree par les crestiens *S.* — *b.* de nostre premier pere Adam et de nostre premiere mere Eve *S.* — *c.* son *S.* — *d.* et par le saint baptesme que il nous a fait donner pour avoir part *S.* — *e.* que le jour du jugement vendra et vendra jugier les mors et les vis *S.* — *f.* ceulz *S.* — *g.* Et le plus prochainne voie que chascuns crestiens

terre, que les mescreans sarrazins ont occupee, et estoint le soint non ^a de Ihesu Crist et essaucé lour mescreandize [en] ^b touz les sains lieux as quiex se devront celebrier le devin office pour remembrer le benefice ^c que Dieu le Peer nous dona par nostre frerre Ihesu Crist, qui nous dona grace d'estre ses frerres adomptis par le saint sacrement dou bautesme ; et fumes apelez et sommes crestiens ^d pour le beneuré non de Ihesu Crist. Dons coment oserons nous porter le sanctisme nom, requerre part au regne dou paradis, qui est joie perpetuel a touz tens, quant nous nen volons suffrir petite poine en ceste breve vie pour recovrer l'eritage Ihesu Crist, que si chier a achaté pour nous, la quele vie n'est pas en nous mais en sa grace, tant com a lui plaist ? Et pour ce nous devons efforcer de morir en son servize, a ce que nous puissions dire : « Nous avons payé nostre dete et deservi la grace que il nous a fait de son patremoine ».

Item, sur la dite question de la maniere de recovrer la Terre saint sur ^e .II. voyes, sunt l'une par passage general et l'autre par convenable aide dou Saint Siege apostolical de gens a cheval et aubalestriers a pié et une quantité de galees. Et ceste gent soyent au commandement dou chevetaine qui a usé le pais de la et la maniere de la guerre des Sarrazins. Et pour ce que la maniere des Frans torné acune foiz a damage, pour ce que il nen obeissent a la maniere qui appartient a cele guerre, que le chevetaine ait poer de soudeer tel gent com il li semblera qui soient profitables, et congeer ceaux qui ne se porteront si com il devront. Car autrement serroit poin perdue, et quant plus y auroit de gent, il porroyent recevoir plus grant damage.

Premierement dirons sur le passage general : .II. voyes sont par la ou le passage peut aler, l'une par terre et l'autre par mer. Ce / l'ost des crestiens veut passer par terre, et les pelerins qui les suiront, l'on doit regarder au primier passage qui fu meu par Pierre l'Ermite et le duc Godeffroy de Billon, et les autres barons qui passerent, et grant quantité de pelerins sains nombrer. Et avant qu'il parvindrent au siege d'Antioche, des .x. parties furent mors et periz les .ix. ; les uns par batailles que il avoyent entre aus, et aucune foiz oveuques les citeyens et vilains des villes et des chasteaux par la ou il passoyent pour recovrer vitaille, et sovente foiz par lour grans outrages ou par lour conveitise et utrage des gens de lieus desusdiz. Et quant il plost a

puet avoir pour aler ou royaume dessus dit est que il mete son corps et son ame avec toutes les graces que Diex li a donnees *S.* — *a.* et estant le saint non *S.* — *b.* et *N.* — *c.* et essaucié leur mescreandise et aussi ont il occupez les s. lieus ou l'en deust celebrier le devin office pour remembrer le devin office *S.* — *d.* et sommes appellez crestiens *S.* — *e.* sont *S.* — *f.* Se *S.*

Dieu, ceaus qui eschaperent de tant de perilz vindrent au siege d'Antioche, s'esmut .i. conestable dou royst de Parce qui avoit nom Corboran^a, ovec grant quantité de gent a cheval. Et se ne fust que Dieu mist sa grace au cuer d'un crestien qui rendi la terre au nom dou prince Beymont^b de Tarrente, <quant> Corboran^c vint le tiers jour devant Antioche, il les eust toz mors e pris, a ce que il ne savoyent nule novele de sa venue. Et se il eussent bien sue la covine^d, si n'avoient il poeir contre lui ; ja soit ce, puis que il les ot assegez un grant tens et il les desconfirent, ce fu par devin miracle et non par euvre d'omes. Et einsi aprés tant de damages que il receurent et perilz, si vindrent a la fortune d'un jour et d'une bataille. Et com ce soit choze, se il plaist a Dieu, si comme nous avons l'esperance, que le passage general soit empris, il est certaine choze que mult de puissans princes, contes, barons et nobles chevaliers et escuyers^e prendront la croiz pour servir Dieu et l'arme d'eaus sauver ; et sont tel gent que nule nassion dou monde puissent dourer en contre eaus, tant pour tant, en .i. champ et a la bataille d'un jour, ne .XL.^m contre .x.^m ; mais pour les perilz qu'il poyent avenir doit l'om aviser d'eschiver les et eslire des .ii. perilz le meilleur, et overer en tel maniere qu'il soit au sauvement de la Crestienté. Car defaute qui ce fait en bataille nen ce puet de legier recoverer. Et pour ce, ceaux qui voudront cel chemin enprendre doyvent regarder les grans et lons travails, les meschiés et les perilz que il auront par le lointaign voyage et l'afouilissement de lour persons et de lour chevaus par les grans mesaises qu'il auront eu. Et quant il joindront en tel estat en la terre qu'il auront tant desiree, et troveront lour anemis qui sont puissans et malicious, c'est assavoir le Soudan de Babiloine et son ost, les quiecs oveuc l'arriere dos qu'il ont de lour citez^f, chastiaux et fortereces, il eschiveront la bataille tant cum il lour plaira et la feront quant il lour semblera a lour grant avantage et au meschief des pelerins, selonc les raisons desus dites et plusors autres que hom porroit. Et si le passage veut aler par mer, il nen porront partir touz ensemble d'un seul lieuc, pour la diversité de chascune contré ou il voudront trover les vaisseaux de lour passage plus près, et pour ce nem porrount aler touz ensemble ne la plus grant partie, car les uns partiront de Catheloine, de Provence, autres de Jenu, et de Pize, de Venice^g, de la Marz de Poille et de Cesile et des autres pors^h qui sont sur mer. Et

^{a.} Torberant *S.* — ^{b.} Saiemont *S.* — ^{c.} Corberant *S.* — ^{d.} venue *S.* — ^{e.} et escuyers *om. S.* — ^{f.} le soudan de Babiloine et son ost et les arrieres gardes qu'il ont de leurs citez *S.* — ^{g.} de Venice, de Pise et de Gennes *S.* — ^{h.} païs *S.*

se il arrivent en la terre de Surye ou de Babiloine par parties, si cum il est desus dit, le Soudan et son ost leur vendront a l'encontrer a l'ariver et les troveront tout estonez, et leour chevaux, de la mer ; de legier les porront grever. Et se il avient, ja Dieu ne le vuille, que il desconfissoient une partie, mult des autres seroyent esbahiz et les Sarrazins recovreroyent grant hardement ^a.

Item, et aveigne que le passage soit ordonné et la croiz donee très oreンドroit : si covendra que les princes, barons et autres bone gens aient de .III. ans en sus espace d'eaux atirer ^b, garnir et ordiner lour boscignes. Et pour ce le plus prochain conseill qui se puet metre quant a ores, se il plaist a la saincté de nostre Saint Peer e des reverens peres nos seignors cardinaus ses freres, au sauvement dou passage desus dit et le recovrement de la Terre sainte et la destruction des mescreans Sarrazins qui ont la foy Ihesu Crist tant abaissee.

Item, se il plaist au Saint Syege apostolical d'ordener les soudees des mil homes a cheval et .III. ^c mil aubalestriers .v. ans continuels, et .LX. gualees chascun an .VIII. moys, et les susdites gualees et gens serront compartiz a Roddes et en Chipre en tens et en saisons, selonc la pourveance dou chevetaine et l'ordinance dou Saint Syege apostolical, en la maniere que il porront plus grever les mescreans. Et ceste gent porront tant grever la Pay-nisme qu'il les metront a trop grant meschief, si que volunteers rendront la Terre saint et plusors autres lieux pour paiz avoir. Et mult des crestiens, oyant le bon commencement en ceste bone eure, se morront lour cuers en devacion, et les autres pour covoitise de gaignyer, et ensi multiplierent touz jours les crestiens par de la, que il porront faire mult des grans bosoignes a l'onor de Dieu et dou Saint Syege apostolical sans le movement de nul des roys.

Item, la manier des damages que les Sarrazins peuent recevoir par la gent et l'armement ^d desus dit, si est que nul vayssiaux des mauvais crestiens qui vont et portent les marchandies en Babiloine contre la sentence ^e de la Saint Yglise de Rome, [...] de la quel marchandise entrent en Alixandre et as autres lieux, et reportont les autres marchandies qui viennent d'Inde. Le Soudan a de droiture la moitié par mi de tout l'avoir qui se porte, lequel

^a. Et se il avenoit, que ja Diex ne veille, que li Sarrazin en desconfissoient une partie, li autre en seroient moult esbahiz et Sarrazins en prendroient grant hardement. *S.* — ^b. aient l'espace dusques a .III. ans pour euls atirer *S.* — ^c. .III. *S.* — ^d. l'arrivement *S.* — ^e. contre le commandement et la sentence *S.*

monte trop grant avoir^a. Et selonc ce que m[u]lt de gent dient^b, l'entree d'Alixandre monte chascune moys .xl. mil florins d'or et plus, sauve Damiate et les autres pors qui sont sur mer. Encores toutes les rentes que le Soudan et ses gens d'armes ont et sont usez de vendre a marchanx qui vont la, et nen troveront^c a qui vendre les ; si nen porront tenir les chivax et les armes si com il ont acostumé. Encores toutes les rentes qu'il ont au royaume dou Ssam^d, grant quantité de coton que les naves et mult de gualees vont chascun an manifestement a charger. Et se il nen trovent a qui vendre lour rentes, si covendra que les gens d'armes soyent affebliz et apovriz. Et le Soudan qui maintient la maisnee de son hostel des susdites rentes, et les amirans ensement, nen auront de quoi fornir les ; il covendra amermer grant quantité de gent^e. Encores des Memlos qui lour viengnen par mer, les quiex il font gent d'armes, lour faudront dou tout. Et dedens cel terme desus dit se consumeront la plus grant partie des Turs qui sont en Babiloин ; et les paysans nen valent riens en fait d'armes. Encores la cité dou Caire et de Babiloine et plusors autres terres se governent de vitailles et des toutes autres chozes necessaires par les barches et vaissiaux qui lour portent par le flum. Et se les barches et les vaissiaux seront gastez et porriz, il nen auront de quoi refaire les, pour ce que il nen ont en Egypte fer, leignyaign ni poiz, se les mauvais crestiens ne le portent, et rins pour lour galees : ensement lour vendont les naves et les galees toutes neuves^f. Encores nen ont point de drapperies, arain, vif argent, estain, plump, eule et formage, et plusors autres chozes que les mauvais crestiens lour portent. Ensement il nen ont fers, ni clos pour lour chevaux, ni flesches pour faire saetes, par les queles sayetes il ont mult grevé les crestiens. Et quant les susdites choses lour faudront, il serront a grant meschief. Et les marchans indiens, quant il nen troveront a qui vendre lour marchandies ne acheter ce que lor est besoign, si lairront cestui chemin et irront vers Baudac, et les especeieres vendront par le royaume d'Erminie. Et touz ces damages desus diz recovront il par la garde et par la guerre des galees et gent d'armes desus diz, que les mauvais crestiens nen porront aler ni venir^g. Encores les galees et les gent d'armes peuен sovente

a. la moitié par mi de tout l'avoir qui y est pour ce qu'il monte trop grant avoir. S. — b. Et selonc ce que aucunes gens dient S. — c. Et quant il ne truevent S. — d. dou Doussam N ; de soyn S. — e. Et le soudan qui maintient sa maisnee des rentes dessusdites et les admiraus aussi n'auront de quoi fournir les. Et ainsi il couvendra apovrir grant quantité de gent. S. — f. pour ce que il n'ont en Egypte point de fer ne de bois ne pois se les mauvés crestiens ne leur portent. Et les naves et les galyes aussinc lor vendent il toutes neuves. S. — g. Tous ces damages recevront il par la garde des galyes, par

foz aler en Egypte sursaut et descendre en terre em plusors lieux, gaster <et ardoir villes et chastiaus, et avant qu'il aient secours du Quaire porront retourner a leurs galyes sans peril. Et ainsi porront gaster> plusors contrees, des queles rentes se soustient l'ost ; dont il serront moult amermez.

Item, et se les Tartars veingnent, si comme nous creons, il covient^a que tout l'ost de Babiloine vait^b au Sam^c encontre eaus et nen laissent^d en toute Egypte nule gent a cheval. Pour quoi ceste gent porront monter oveuc lour galees par le flum et par terre jusques au Caire sans nul peril, gaster la cite dou Caire et de Babiloine et tuer tout le popule sarrazins sans nule deffence. Car il nen ont nule forterece et nen sont gent d'armes ni nen ont point d'armeures. Et la est tout le tresor et la gloire de Paÿnime. Et quant les Tatars veindrent au Ssam^e, la gent de Chipre, l'Ospital et le Temple alerent en l'isle de Tourtoze ; les Sarrazins savoient lour venue, si rendirent graces a lour Machoumet^f de ce que les crestiens nen furent avertiz d'aler en Alixandre, de prendre la et gaster.

Encores porront aler descendre en mult de lieus en la Surrye, briser et gaster, que ja les Sarrazins n'auront poer de garder cant de lieus come il ont et tienent. Et par ceste maniere de guerre, dedens ces .v. ans que les Sarrazins serront si agrevez et amermez que poi de quantite de gente qui passeront apres porront de legier desconfire l'ost et gaayner la terre sans les periles desus nomez, qui porroyent avenir au passage se ceste mainere de guerre n'estoit avant tenue.

ce que les mauvais crestiens n'i porront aler ne venir S. — a. couvendra S. — b. ivist S. — c. Sain S. — d. lesseront S. — e. Sain S. — f. Mahomet S.

SEGURANO-SAKRĀN SALVAYGO: UN MERCANTE GENOVESE AL SERVIZIO DEI SULTANI MAMALUCCHI, C. 1303-1322

Verso la fine del XIII e agli inizi del XIV secolo, Genova poteva vantare un numero considerevole di uomini che si distinguevano per la loro sete di avventure e la loro originalità e che univano le imprese commerciali con l'avventura politica o con l'esplorazione geografica. Nel 1291, i fratelli Vivaldi tentarono di raggiungere l'India via Gibilterra e l'Oceano Atlantico, mentre un gruppo di Genovesi progettava di inviare navi nel Golfo Persico, infliggendo così un duro colpo al commercio dell'Egitto con l'India. Nello stesso periodo, Benedetto Zaccaria, il re dell'allume a Focea, si acquistò fama come ammiraglio, diplomatico e crociato. Un commerciante anonimo arrivava, verso il 1300, fino alla lontana città marocchina di Sidjilmāsa, dove raccolse informazioni sulle vie carovaniere nel Sahara. Buscarello Ghisolfi, il quale tra il 1289 e il 1303 svolse missioni diplomatiche presso il papa e i re di Francia e di Inghilterra per conto dei Īl-Khān mongoli di Persia, si occupava contemporaneamente di affari, sia personalmente sia attraverso un procuratore. Manuele Pessagno, che nel 1317 divenne l'ammiraglio di Dinis I del Portogallo e che portò con sé capitani e piloti genovesi, i quali avrebbero poi scoperto per il Portogallo le Canarie, le isole di Madera e le Azzorre, non aveva intenzione di lasciare le sue attività commerciali per l'ammiragliato di Lisbona: nel contratto con il re Dinis egli si riservava specificatamente il diritto di servirsi dei marinai genovesi e di mandarli nelle Fiandre, a Genova e altrove, nei periodi in cui il re non ne avesse avuto bisogno.

A questa galleria di intraprendenti mercanti genovesi si deve aggiungere il nome di Segurano Salvaygo. Invero, le fonti in lingua latina del periodo forniscono solo pochi dettagli su questo personaggio. L'unico scrittore che lo nomina non può essere certo considerato un testimone obiettivo: è questi il domenicano Guillaume Adam, fervente sostenitore delle Crociate, che nel suo trattato del 1317 stigmatizza la figura di Salvaygo come quella di un « favoreggiatore, promotore e difensore della fede maomettana ». Il buon frate, che condanna ripetutamente i mercanti cattolici che trasportano materiale bellico in Egitto, rinforzando così lo Stato islamico dalle cui mani la Terra Santa deve essere strappata, sostiene che Salvaygo è il più eminente tra di essi. Questo « *caput peccati* » è così intimo del Sultano, che questi

L'Autore desidera esprimere il suo vivo ringraziamento al professor Eliyahu Ashtor, dell'Università Ebraica di Gerusalemme, per i suoi utili commenti e la sua generosa assistenza, nonché alle signorine Gillian Moore e Sylvia Schein, e alla dott. Lia Campagnano Di Segni, per i loro servizi.

si rivolge a lui come a un fratello e a un amico, nelle lettere che gli indirizza. Le navi e le galee di Salvaygo battono il mare, issando sui loro alberi le bandiere di Maometto e del Sultano. Esse trasportano gli ambasciatori e gli insegnanti della religione islamica che il Sultano manda « all'Imperatore dei Tartari del Nord », cioè al Khan dell'Orda d'Oro. Queste navi portano in Egitto enormi quantità di merce di contrabbando e gran numero di schiavi. Si dice che Salvaygo da solo abbia fornito ai Saraceni 10.000 schiavi. Anche i suoi fratelli, nipoti e parenti portano schiavi e materiale bellico in Egitto, e così fanno molti altri Genovesi, emulando l'esempio di quel « maestro di nequizia contro Dio », Segurano Salvaygo¹.

Nessuna delle accuse di Guillaume Adam contro Salvaygo è stata corroborata da altre fonti latine. Fino a quale punto si può prestare fede agli attacchi del missionario domenicano, o invece fino a quale punto devono essere intesi come uno stratagema per aggiungere effetto drammatico al suo trattato? Data l'assenza di ulteriore documentazione, il problema sembra essere insolubile.

Tuttavia, come spesso avviene, è uno sguardo alla sponda opposta del Mediterraneo a fornire la soluzione. Molti cronisti egiziani, trattando dell'inizio del XIV secolo, menzionano un mercante di Genova, che era attivo in Egitto e nel Khanato dell'Orda d'Oro; egli e il fratello apparvero in Egitto con gli ambasciatori del Khan, su navi che trasportavano gran numero di schiavi; si diceva che uno dei sultani d'Egitto lo avesse chiamato fratello. La maggioranza di queste notizie dei cronisti egiziani si riferiscono allo stesso decennio, nel quale Guillaume Adam scrisse la sua invettiva contro il mercante genovese Segurano Salvaygo; il nome del mercante genovese menzionato nelle cronache egiziane è reso « S.k.r.ā.n. » oppure « Sh.k.r.ā.n. »; in una di esse è vocalizzato come « Sakrān ». Non può esservi dubbio che Sakrān e Segurano Salvaygo siano la stessa persona².

Una giustapposizione delle fonti latine e arabe permette di ricostruire una buona parte della carriera di questo grande mercante genovese del primo Trecento, Segurano-Sakrān Salvaygo. Egli apparteneva a una nobile famiglia genovese, i cui membri erano tra i principali sostenitori della causa guelfa nella città. Nel 1313, per esempio, i Ghibellini di Pontremoli si lamentarono presso l'imperatore Arrigo VII di essere stati attaccati da « cil dou Flecs e li Grimaut e li Salvage e la pars Guelfa de Genua ». Nello stesso anno, un documento emesso dalla cancelleria di Arrigo cita Gabriele Salvaygo al principio di una lista di cittadini genovesi considerati ostili alla causa imperiale. Nel 1331 Ambrogio Salvaygo è uno degli ambasciatori guelfi che

¹ Per la data del trattato di Guillaume Adam, vedi C. Kohler, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Documents Arméniens*, (d'ora in poi citato come *RHC. Documents Arméniens*), vol. II, Paris, 1906, CLXXXIX-CXCI. Per il testo, vedasi sotto l'Appendice A. - L'invettiva di Guillaume Adam contro Salvaygo è stata frequentemente utilizzata dagli studiosi della storia del commercio medievale: p.e. W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen Âge*, vol. II, Leipzig, 1886, p. 36, n. 1 e p. 558; L. de Mas Latrie, *L'Officium robarie ou l'Office de la piraterie à Gênes au moyen âge*, in « Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes », LIII (1892), p. 266; G.I. Bratianu, *Recherches sur le commerce génois dans la Mer Noire au XIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1929, p. 229.

² I riferimenti a Sakrān nelle cronache egiziane sono stati ricapitolati da S.Y. Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter, 1171-1517*, Wiesbaden, 1965, pp. 75-76. Tuttavia Labib non era a conoscenza del passo di Guillaume Adam a proposito di Segurano Salvaygo.

partecipano alle trattative che posero fine alla guerra civile tra Guelfi e Ghibellini di Genova³.

I Salvaygo, come gli altri nobili genovesi dello stesso periodo, erano attivamente presenti nel commercio d'Oltremare, operando da Genova e da altre basi commerciali. Alberto Alfieri, il maestro di grammatica che scrisse il suo *Ogdoas* a Caffa verso l'anno 1421, menziona i Salvaygo come una delle famiglie i cui membri avevano abitato continuamente in quella importante colonia genovese di Crimea⁴. Allora Caffa era uno dei porti principali dai quali gli schiavi del mar Nero venivano esportati in Egitto per rafforzare i ranghi dell'esercito mamalucco. Secondo un'ipotesi, la fondazione stessa di Caffa negli anni Sessanta del Duecento era stata indotta dal trattato egizio-bizantino del 1263, il quale, tra l'altro, concedeva agli Egiziani di attraversare il Bosforo per raggiungere gli empori di schiavi della Crimea: le prospettive della tratta nel Mar Nero allettarono i Genovesi a stabilire una colonia permanente a Caffa⁵. Secondo un'altra ipotesi, « i mercanti provenienti da Südāk » (Soldaia, Crimea), ai quali era stato concesso dal trattato egizio-bizantino del 1281 di trasportare schiavi in Egitto senza l'interferenza bizantina, comprendevano anche i genovesi⁶. In ogni caso, all'inizio del Trecento i Genovesi di Caffa si impegnarono fortemente nella tratta degli schiavi; il rapimento e la riduzione in schiavitù di bambini mongoli da parte loro indussero Tök̄tū, Khan dell'Orda d'Oro, ad ordinare la distruzione di Caffa, verso la fine del 1307. I Genovesi evacuarono Caffa il 20 maggio 1308 e poterono ristabilire la colonia solo otto anni più tardi, essendo riusciti a convincere il successore di Tök̄tū, Özbeg, a concedere loro il diritto al ritorno⁷.

Gli atti del notaio genovese Lamberto di Sambuceto, registrati a Caffa negli anni 1289-'90, testimoniano una presenza effettiva dei Salvaygo nella colonia in quel tempo. Tra il 13 maggio 1289 e l'8 agosto 1290, almeno

³ *MGH, Const.*, vol. IV, a cura di I. Schwalm, Hannover-Leipzig, 1909-11, Doc. 961, p. 1002; Doc. 987, p. 1029; Doc. 988, p. 1030; *Cronaca anonima genovese*, 1297-1332, in Jacopo da Varagine, *Chronica civitatis Ianuensis ab origine urbis usque ad annum MCCXCVII*, a cura di G. Monleone, Roma, 1941, vol. I, p. 484. Tuttavia, alcuni Salvayghi erano ghibellini: Giorgio Stella, *Annales Genuenses*, a cura di Giovanna Petti Balbi in RIS, vol. XVII, parte 2^a, Bologna, 1975, p. 80.29-30.

⁴ *L'Ogdoas di Alberto Alfieri. Episodi di storia genovese nei primordi del secolo XV*, a cura di A. Ceruti, in « Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria », XVII (1885), p. 315.

⁵ G.I. Bratianu, *Recherches*, cit., pp. 206-208.

⁶ M. Canard, *Le traité de 1281 entre Michel Paléologue et le sultan Qalā'ūn*, in « *Byzantium* », X (1935), pp. 673-674, 680; idem, *Un traité entre Byzance et l'Egypte au XIII^e siècle et les relations diplomatiques de Michel VIII Paléologue avec les sultans mamlūks Baybars et Qalā'ūn*, in *Mélanges Gaudejroy-Demombynes*, El-Qahira, 1935-45, p. 210, n. 1 in fine.

⁷ *Cronaca anonima genovese*, cit., pp. 479-81; C. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, vol. IV, Den Haag-Amsterdam, 1835 (rist. a Tientsin, 1940), p. 757.

Su un tentativo genovese di trasportare ad Alessandria schiavi che provenivano probabilmente dall'area del mar Nero e che dovettero essere sbarcati a Creta, cfr. C. Verlinden, *La Crète, débouché et plaque tournante de la traite des esclaves aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles*, in *Studi in onore di Amintore Fanfani*, Milano, 1962, vol. III, pp. 605-606. Per denuncie contemporanee di Cristiani che importano schiavi in Egitto, vedi il memorandum di Guillaume de Nogaret, edito da M. Bouteiric, *Notices et extraits de documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de France sous Philippe le Bel*, in « *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque impériale et autres bibliothèques* », XX (1862), p. 200; L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'Île de Chypre sous le règne de la maison de Lusignan*, vol. II, Paris, 1852 (rist. a Famagosta, 1970), p. 119, art. 1, p. 120, art. 5; Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Secreta Fidelium Crucis*, a cura di J. Bongars in *Gesta Dei per Francos*, vol. II, Hanau, 1611, pp. 27-28.

dodici membri di questa famiglia appaiono negli atti, come parti contraenti o come testimoni in un contratto. Due degli atti riguardano la vendita di schiave⁸. Gli atti registrati dallo stesso notaio a Famagosta nell'anno 1300 menzionano sei differenti Salvaygo come presenti nella città⁹. Il più eminente tra questi sembra essere stato Ambrogio Salvaygo, che appare negli atti non meno di tredici volte, comperando una nave, affittandone un'altra, concedendo prestiti, nominando procuratori e così di seguito¹⁰. Nel momento in cui Filippo di Negro si trova nell'impossibilità di rendere a Lanfranco da Porta i 16.000 dirham armeni che gli deve, non essendo apparsi a Famagosta né Lanfranco né il suo procuratore, il *rector* dei Genovesi nella città invia Filippo a depositare la somma presso Ambrogio Salvaygo, fino all'arrivo di Lanfranco o del suo procuratore¹¹.

L'11 settembre 1300 Ambrogio Salvaygo concede un altro prestito, questa volta a Tommaso Albertegno di Savona. L'atto notarile indica, tuttavia, che questo prestito è stato concesso non solo da Ambrogio, ma anche da suo fratello Segurano¹². È la prima volta che Segurano-Sakrān Salvaygo compare in un atto notarile pubblicato. Si pone il quesito se questo Ambrogio è quel fratello di Sakrān, menzionato dal cronista egiziano contemporaneo Ibn ad-Dawādārī, che arrivò ad Alessandria con una delegazione dell'Orda d'Oro nell'anno 713 [1313-'14]¹³, oppure è uno dei fratelli di Segurano che Guillaume Adam denuncia, tre anni dopo, come provveditori di mercanzie proibite all'Egitto. Non si può esserne certi, ma la possibilità esiste.

Alcuni atti genovesi inediti forniscono uno squarcio dell'attività dei fratelli Salvaygo negli anni successivi alla concessione del prestito a Famagosta. Il 26 giugno 1305, Ambrogio Salvaygo, trovandosi allora a Genova, nominò un procuratore ad agire in Francia, in Champagne ed in Brie, per conto suo e dei suoi fratelli e soci, Eliano e Segurano. Il primo febbraio 1307, Giovanni Maiaraldo, procuratore di Martino d'Oria e di Segurano

⁸ *Gênes et l'Outre-Mer*, a cura di M. Balard, vol. I: *Les actes de Caffa du notaire Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1289-1290*, Paris-Den Haag, 1973, Index, s.v. *Salvaigus, Salvaticus*. Per la vendita di schiave vedi documenti 767, 844, pp. 306, 346.

⁹ C. Desimoni, *Actes passés à Famagouste de 1299 à 1301 par devant le notaire génois Lamberto di Sambuceto*, in «Archives de l'Orient Latin», II (1884), parte II, doc. XXVI, p. 18; XXXVII-XXXVIII, p. 23; XLI, p. 25; LIX, p. 35; LX-LXII, p. 36; LXIII, p. 37; LXVI, p. 38; CIV, p. 58; CXLII, p. 77; «Revue de l'Orient Latin», I (1893), doc. CDXIX, p. 300. Nessuno degli individui menzionati in questi atti è omonimo dei Salvaygo apparsi una decade prima negli atti di Caffa.

¹⁰ «Archives de l'Orient Latin», II (1884), parte II, doc. CLXXXIII-CLXXXIV, p. 98; CXCII, p. 104; «Revue de l'Orient Latin», I (1893), doc. CCXXVI, p. 61; CCLXXXV, p. 96; CCCIX, p. 108; CCCXXV, p. 117; CCCLXXIX, p. 281; CDXLII, p. 311; CDLXII, p. 336; CDLXIV, p. 337; CDLXX, p. 339.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, doc. CCCLXXX, p. 281.

¹² «Ego Thomas Albertengus de Sagona confiteor tibi Ambrosio Salvaigo, recipienti nomine tuo proprio et nomine Segurani, fratribus tuis, me habuisse et recepisse a te dictis nominibus, mutuo, gratis et amore libras triginta Ianuinorum», *ibidem*, doc. CCLXVII, pp. 88-89. Desimoni suggeriva che Segurano che appare in questo atto possa essere identificato con l'oggetto dell'invettiva di Guillaume Adam: C. Desimoni, *Notes et observations sur les actes du notaire génois Lamberto di Sambuceto*, in «Revue de l'Orient Latin», II (1894), p. 15. Vedi anche la nota di C. Kohler in *RHC. Documents Arméniens*, vol. II, p. CXCI, n. 9.

¹³ Appendice E. Per un cenno biografico su questo cronista vedi D. P. Little, *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography. An Analysis of Arabic Annalistic and Biographical Sources for the Reign of al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalā'ūn*, Wiesbaden, 1970; *Freiburger Islamstudien*, vol. II, pp. 10-11.

Salvaygo, richiese un risarcimento al fideiussore di un marinaio che aveva disertato da una galea appartenente ai due, durante un viaggio in Romania nel 1303. Il 28 gennaio 1310, il medesimo Giovanni Maiaraldo, agendo questa volta come procuratore dei fratelli Eliano, Ambrogio e Segurano Salvaygo, pretese il pagamento di una simile penale per la diserzione di un marinaio da una loro galea in viaggio per Aigues Mortes¹⁴.

Tuttavia, per quel che riguarda le attività di Segurano Salvaygo in Egitto dobbiamo basarci quasi esclusivamente sulle notizie scritte in arabo. La prima di queste appare in una cronaca egiziana anonima che tratta degli anni 690-709 [1291-1309/'10] e che è stata stesa da un contemporaneo degli eventi descritti¹⁵. Vi si narra che, nell'anno 703 [1303-'04], un mercante franco a nome Sakrān venne dal Sultano con molti presenti tra lanerie, atlas, tessuti preziosi e uccelli¹⁶. Il sultano a quel tempo era al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Kalā'ūn, un giovane di diciannove anni, ma i veri governanti del paese erano gli emiri Salār e Rukn ad-Dīn Baybars. Quest'ultimo divenne sultano il 5 aprile 1309, assumendo il titolo di al-Malik al-Muzaffar Baybars, ma non aveva ancora regnato un anno che al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad riprese il potere e lo fece strangolare¹⁷. Negli anni 1303-'04 Segurano-Sakrān aveva dunque acquisito la confidenza di al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad, di Salār, di Baybars, oppure di tutti e tre? È difficile dirlo, ma sembrerebbe che il mercante genovese avesse stabilito relazioni particolarmente strette con Salār e Baybars. Quando il nobile genovese Matteo Zaccaria — probabilmente il terzo cugino del grande Benedetto —¹⁸ fu liberato dal carcere del sultano, dopo molti anni di prigonia, egli si rivolse ad Ambrogio e Segurano a nome di diversi prigionieri aragonesi, e richiese loro di adoperarsi per una riconciliazione tra il sultano e Jayme II d'Aragona. I Salvaygo intervennero presso Salār e Baybars che indussero il sultano ad affidare a Matteo Zaccaria lettere per il re di Aragona¹⁹. E quando Baybars

¹⁴ Archivio di Stato, Genova (ASG), *Notari*, N. 67: Oberto de Langasco, Domenico Durante ed altri, fol. 108v-109r; N. 205/I: Enricus de Recco, 1307-'12, fol. 36 e 92v. Il 10 luglio 1314 Giovanni Maiaraldo, agendo in qualità di procuratore di Ambrogio Salvaygo, richiese un risarcimento per la diserzione di «galeoti fugiti galée dicti Ambroxii de viagio Romanie MCCCVIII». ASG, *Notari*, N. 205/II: Enricus de Recco, 1313-'15, fol. 190v.

¹⁵ D. P. Little, *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography*, cit., pp. 18-19.

¹⁶ Appendice B.

¹⁷ La relazione più completa, scritta in una lingua europea, del lungo regno di al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad rimane ancora quella di G. Weil, *Geschichte des Abbasidenchalisats in Ägypten*, vol. I (vol. IV della *Geschichte der Chalifen*), Stuttgart, 1860, pp. 191-312. Per il regno di al-Malik al-Muzaffar Baybars cfr. pp. 280-296.

¹⁸ Vedasi l'albero genealogico degli Zaccaria in R. S. Lopez, *Genova marinara nel Duecento. Benedetto Zaccaria ammiraglio e mercante*, Messina-Milano, 1933, Appendice X.

¹⁹ La faccenda è nota da una lettera inviata da Ambrogio e Segurano a Jayme II da Genova. Frammenti di questa sono stati pubblicati da H. Finke, *Acta Aragonensis*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1922, vol. III, p. 514. Le parole «Nayburn soldanum et mir Rochedenyn Beybars» devono significare: Nā'ib as-saltāna [il viceré d'Egitto, i.e. Salār] et al-amīr Rukn ad-Dīn Baybars. (E vedasi adesso il *postscriptum*).

La lettera è datata 27 agosto, senza menzione dell'anno. Tuttavia, poiché essa ricorda gli attriti provocati dall'ambascieria di Eymerich Dusay, che ebbero luogo nel febbraio di 1306 (cfr. Finke, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 744; A. S. Atiya, *Egypt and Aragon. Embassies and Diplomatic Correspondence between 1300 and 1330 A.D.*, Leipzig, 1938; ristampa a Nendeln, 1966, p. 22, n. 2 e pp. 33-34), deve essere scritta negli anni 1306-08 — il 27 agosto 1309 Baybars era già sultano.

Una lettera posteriore, anch'essa non datata, scritta dai prigionieri aragonesi, menziona le lettere del sultano che «Mateu Naguaria ciutada de Genoa» aveva portato al re Jayme: Finke, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 745. Senza dubbio «Naguaria» è un errore per «Zaccaria».

divenne sultano nel 1309 le relazioni tra lui e Segurano-Sakrān devono essere divenute veramente intime: al-'Aynī, cronista egiziano del XV secolo (m. 855/1451), narra che il sultano al-Muẓaffar Baybars chiamava Sakrān suo fratello²⁰.

È poco verosimile che Salvaygo abbia conquistato la confidenza dei sovrani mamalucchi solo per i doni che offriva. Probabilmente se la acquistò mettendo a loro disposizione la mercanzia che valutavano più di ogni altra. Come è ben noto, il funzionamento del regime mamalucco richiedeva un rifornimento continuo di schiavi militari alle caserme del Cairo. Durante il regno di al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad, il numero di schiavi importato in Egitto a questo scopo fu il più alto che si sia registrato sotto qualsiasi altro sultano mamalucco. Il sovrano era disposto a spendere enormi somme per comprare schiavi militari; in un caso estremo pagò 5.000 dinari per uno schiavo solo, anche se il prezzo medio era considerevolmente più basso, forse meno di 100 dinari²¹. Tra gli schiavi, quelli di origine mongola erano i più ricercati per scopi militari. Dunque, come Guillaume Adam narra così ampiamente, Salvaygo importò migliaia di schiavi militari in Egitto. Sia il trattato del missionario domenicano sia le fonti egiziane che si riferiscono alle relazioni di Sakrān con i mongoli dell'Orda d'Oro suggeriscono che la maggioranza di questi schiavi provenisse da quel Khanato²². Inoltre, Salvaygo poteva trasportare i suoi schiavi sulle proprie navi — certamente un vantaggio per i Mamalucchi che non avevano a disposizione un grande numero di vascelli adatti a lunghi viaggi²³. In simili circostanze Salvaygo doveva essere un ospite gradito alla cittadella del Cairo.

La caduta del sultano Baybars nel marzo 1310 fu certamente un colpo per Salvaygo, ma non pose fine alla sua carriera egiziana. Dopo la morte di Baybars — così riferisce al-'Aynī — il Direttore del Tesoro Reale (*nāzir al-khāṣṣ*) « diede a Sakrān sessantamila dinari, e gli diede zucchero e altre mercanzie del valore di quarantamila denari per il commercio ». Il Direttore, Karīm ad-Dīn « il Grande »²⁴, agì decisamente nei limiti della sua carica:

²⁰ Appendice G.

²¹ D. Ayalon, *L'esclavage du mamelouk*, Yerushalayim, 1951, pp. 7-9. Sui prezzi dei mamalucchi vedi anche E. Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiéval*, Paris, 1969, p. 363; Idem, *Les métaux précieux et la balance des payements du Proche-Orient à la basse époque*, Paris, 1971, pp. 88-94. Per l'incoraggiamento governativo all'importazione di schiavi militari, vedi S. Y. Labib, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 327.

²² Vedi sotto, appendici A, F e G. È interessante notare che nessuna fonte egiziana si riferisce a Sakrān quale importatore di schiavi.

²³ Entravano realmente le navi egiziane nel mar Nero in seguito ai trattati egizio-bizantini del 1263 e del 1281? All'inizio del 1291, il frate francescano Fidenzio da Padova scriveva: « Nam soldanus solitus mittere annuatim aliquas naves ultra Costantinopolim ad mare majus et de juvenibus nationum illatum que morantur circa illud mare, facit emi in magna quantitate ». Fidenzio da Padova, *Liber recuperationis Terre Sancte*, in *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francescano*, a cura di G. Golubovich, vol. II, Quaracchi, 1913, p. 48, c. LXV. Il testo non chiarisce se le navi erano egiziane, oppure se erano navi straniere operanti per conto del sultano d'Egitto. Si ha la stessa ambiguità a proposito della dichiarazione spesso citata di Nicephoros Gregoras (m. 1359-60) che gli Egiziani passavano gli Stretti con una o due navi all'anno: Nicephoros Gregoras, *Byzantina historia*, Bonn, 1829, vol. I, p. 102. Sul triste stato della flotta mamalucca vedi D. Ayalon, *The Mamluks and Naval Power. A Phase of the Struggle between Islam and Christian Europe*, in *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, vol. I, Yerushalayim, 1965, pp. 1-12.

²⁴ Sulla carica di *Nāzir al-Khāṣṣ*, cfr. H. Rabie, *The Financial System of Egypt, A.H. 564-741/A.D. 1169-1341*, London, 1972, pp. 142-143. Sulla carriera di Karīm ad-Dīn « il Grande », un copto convertito all'islamismo, vedi Ibn as-Šuqā'ī, *Tālī kitāb Wafayāt al-a'yān* (Un fonction-

uno dei doveri di *nāzir al-khāss* era appunto di investire con profitto i capitali del Sultano e di prendere parte all'attività commerciale in suo nome²⁵. Ma perché il Direttore mise un capitale così grande a disposizione del mercante genovese? Al-'Aynī nota che Sakrān era assai abile nel commercio e ben conosciuto nel suo paese d'origine. Questa ragione non sembra toccare la base del problema. La vera causa deve essere ricercata nelle circostanze più generali. Nei primi decenni del XIV secolo il commercio dell'Egitto con l'Europa cattolica dovette subire un brusco ribasso. I contatti diretti con l'Estremo Oriente attraverso i Khanati mongoli di Persia e dell'Orda d'Oro permisero ai mercanti europei di agire, in parte almeno, senza i servigi tradizionali degli intermediari egiziani tra Oriente e Occidente. L'Egitto incominciava a sentire anche l'impatto delle proibizioni che il papato aveva imposto sul commercio con il Sultanato mamalucco, dopo la caduta di Acri nel 1291. È vero che l'embargo pontificio era solo parzialmente efficace; tuttavia le acque egiziane dovevano divenire poco invitanti per molti mercanti europei, dato che l'attacco di un Cipriota, un Ospitaliero o un altro autonomatosi esecutore delle proibizioni papali era sempre impendente. In queste circostanze è naturale che i Mamalucchi, sempre bisognosi del legname e del ferro europei, si imbarcassero in una politica di allettamento dei mercanti cattolici verso l'Egitto²⁶. L'affidare oro egiziano a un uomo come Salvaygo poteva essere considerato un mezzo per adescare altri mercanti europei in cerca di capitali e per indurli a portare materiale di contrabbando ai porti di Alessandria e Damietta. Guillaume Adam lamenta che il successo di Salvaygo servì come esempio ad altri mercanti genovesi, che seguirono le sue orme: la prospettiva di ottenere capitali egiziani poteva essere di considerevole importanza agli occhi degli emulatori di Salvaygo. Invero ci sono alcune prove che Salvaygo non fu l'unico mercante cattolico a mettere in uso il capitale egiziano. In una lettera del 1317 al Comune di Genova, papa Giovanni XXII scaglia i suoi fulmini contro i cittadini genovesi che entrano in « *societates ac commercia illicita* » con i Saraceni d'Egitto²⁷. E il cronista contemporaneo Ibn ad-Dawādārī fa riferimento ai depositi che Karīm ad-Dīn « il Grande », il Direttore del Tesoro Reale, aveva presso i mercanti franchi in un periodo in cui Salvaygo non era più in vita²⁸.

Quali potevano essere i motivi di Salvaygo nell'accettare l'oro del Sul-

naire chrétien dans l'administration mamelouke) a cura di Jacqueline Sublet, Damasco, 1974, pp. 223-224 della traduzione; e anche G. Weil, *Geschichte*, cit., pp. 324, 356-359; H. Sauvaire, *Description de Damas*, in « *Journal asiatique* », 1896, parte I, pp. 231, 267-269.

²⁵ S. Y. Labib, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

²⁶ Su questa politica vedi G. Wiet, *L'Égypte arabe. De la conquête arabe à la conquête ottomane, 642-1517 de l'ère chrétienne*, (vol. IV dell'*Histoire de la nation égyptienne*, a cura di G. Hanotaux, Paris, 1937), pp. 490-492.

²⁷ Raynaldi, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, a. 1317, n. 36. Dante considera certamente un « mercante in terra di Soldano » (*Inf. XXVII*, 90) come peccatore. È possibile che l'augurio di Dante di vedere i Genovesi cacciati dal mondo a cagione delle loro « magagne » (*Inf. XXXIII*, 151-153) sia motivato tra l'altro dalla sua avversione per i loro negozi col Sultanato mamalucco, che costituivano tradimento nei confronti della Cristianità?

²⁸ *Die Chronik des Ibn ad-Dawādārī*, a cura di H. R. Roemer, El Qahira, parte 9, 1960, p. 315. Karīm ad-Dīn, che, come tutti gli altri funzionari mamalucchi del suo tempo, doveva tenere presente la possibilità di cadere in disgrazia presso il sultano, potrebbe anche aver desiderato di tenere qualche proprietà all'estero, progettando di ripararvi egli stesso in caso di necessità. Questo sembrano comportare le insinuazioni di Ibn ad-Dawādārī, pp. 314-15. Per una differente interpretazione di questo testo vedi S. Y. Labib, *op. cit.*, p. 67, n. 8.

tano? Certamente un mercante genovese era sempre pronto ad accrescere il capitale a sua disposizione. Ma ci doveva essere, probabilmente, una ragione più specifica. Il legame con i Saraceni d'Egitto permise a Salvaygo di battere la bandiera del Sultano, e le sue navi inalberavano realmente il vessillo dell'Islam, come il buon domenicano vedeva con i suoi occhi, con suo grave scandalo²⁹. La bandiera del Sultano era di poco aiuto nel mare Mediterraneo o nell'Egeo: una nave che la portasse in vetta al suo albero poteva essere attaccata dagli Ospitalieri, dagli Zaccaria di Chio o da altre navi cattoliche che agivano in nome del papato³⁰. La bandiera del Sultano non era di grande aiuto neanche nel Bosforo: è vero che, secondo le stipulazioni degli accordi egizio-bizantini, i mercanti egiziani potevano attraversare gli Stretti senza interferenze; ma questo potevano farlo anche i Genovesi e Salvaygo era cittadino di Genova³¹. Nondimeno, il valore dell'insegna del Sultano sarebbe diventato critico all'avvicinarsi della costa del Khanato dell'Orda d'Oro. Come è già stato detto, i Genovesi erano stati cacciati da Caffa nel maggio del 1308; i loro compatrioti erano stati radunati dalle altre parti del Khanato e spogliati dei loro beni alcuni mesi prima³². Tra il 1308 e il 1313, anno della morte del Khan Tōktū, un Genovese non poteva essere *persona grata* nei territori del Khanato; tuttavia, un Genovese operante sotto la protezione del sultano d'Egitto, uno dei maggiori alleati di Tōktū³³, poteva aspettarsi un benvenuto caloroso. Così Salvaygo, attraverso il suo contatto egiziano, poteva avere accesso a un lucroso mercato che altrimenti gli sarebbe stato probabilmente chiuso³⁴.

Nel 1316 i Genovesi ristabilirono la loro colonia a Caffa, ed i loro rapporti con Özbeg, il nuovo Khan, erano ragionevolmente buoni. Nello stesso anno però Genova vietò severamente l'esportazione in Egitto di schiavi dal mar Nero su navi genovesi³⁵, e Salvaygo ebbe una nuova e pressante ra-

²⁹ Vedi appendice A. Le navi di mercanti genovesi che navigavano battendo « i vessilli dell'abominevole Maometto » sono menzionate anche nella lettera di papa Giovanni XXII del 1317 (vedi sopra n. 27). Heyd sembra essere stato al corrente del parallelismo tra la lettera pontificia e il trattato di Guillaume Adam (W. Heyd, *Histoire*, cit., vol. II, p. 36, n. 1). Tuttavia, dato che il trattato venne concluso solo nel 1317 e la lettera denuncia le *societates* stabilite tra Genova e i Saraceni, un fatto non menzionato dal missionario domenicano, sembra probabile che il papa avesse a sua disposizione altre fonti di informazione.

³⁰ Per il rapimento dei messi egiziani da parte di « Franchi » nell'anno 711 [1311-12] vedi appendici C e D e più avanti.

³¹ Per le amichevoli relazioni tra Genova e Bisanzio vedi A. E. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins. The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II*, 1282-1328, Cambridge, Mass., 1972, pp. 148-157, 171-175, 183-185, 260-267. Nel 1308, gli ambasciatori di Andronico II richiesero che i Genovesi che trasportavano ferro, legname e *mumuluchi* ad Alessandria nonostante l'embargo in vigore, pagassero la dogana ai Bizantini; Genova rispose semplicemente inviando all'Imperatore lo statuto che imponeva l'embargo: L. T. Belgrano, *Prima serie di documenti riguardanti la colonia di Pera*, in « Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria », XIII (1877), pp. 111, 113.

³² *Cronaca anonima genovese*, cit., pp. 479-80.

³³ Sui rapporti di Tōktū con i Mammalucchi vedasi B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde. Die Mongolen in Russland*, 1223-1502, Wiesbaden, 1965², pp. 81 ss.

³⁴ Dopo il 1320, quando la guerra tra i Guelfi e i Ghibellini di Genova si allargò sui mari (cfr. E. Laiou, *op. cit.*, pp. 266-67), Salvaygo, in quanto membro di una eminente famiglia guelfa, avrebbe avuto delle difficoltà con i Ghibellini di Pera. Anche qui, la bandiera del sultano deve essergli stata utile.

³⁵ *Monumenta Historiae Patriae. Leges Municipales*, vol. II, Torino, 1838, coll. 371-376; cfr. G. Soranzo, *Il Papato, l'Europa cristiana e i Tartari. Un secolo di penetrazione occidentale in Asia*, Milano, 1930, p. 476. Per un decreto simile emanato da Venezia nel 1313 cfr. C. Verlinden, *La Crète*, cit., pp. 607-608.

gione di battere la bandiera del Sultano³⁶.

Di quale natura era il rapporto d'affari tra Salvaygo e il Direttore del Tesoro Reale? Gli era stato concesso lo statuto di *tādjir al-khāss*, vale a dire un mercante privato del Sultano avente il privilegio dell'esonero dalle tasse all'entrata del reame?³⁷ Nei confronti del Direttore aveva egli una posizione simile a quella del socio-viaggiatore in un contratto di commenda, libero di usare il capitale a sua disposizione come meglio credesse? oppure assomigliava allo stato di un agente, che riceveva una commissione o un salario? In ogni caso, Salvaygo doveva godere di grandissima libertà di azione, intraprendendo, com'egli faceva, viaggi rischiosi attraverso acque frequentate dal nemico e verso mete, ove non poteva facilmente comunicare con i funzionari del Sultano. Certamente il suo commercio di schiavi doveva essere di profitto straordinario. Al-Makrīzī nota che, durante il regno del sultano an-Nāṣir Muḥammad, i mercanti compravano uno schiavo militare per una somma equivalente a 1.000, 1.500 o 2.000 dinari, mentre il Sultano lo avrebbe pagato fino a 5.000³⁸.

Ebbe Salvaygo anche un ruolo politico? In tal caso il fatto non sarebbe eccezionale. L'opera di un contemporaneo di Salvaygo, *Madjd ad-Dīn Isma'il b. Muḥammad b. Yākūt as-Sallāmī*, grande importatore di schiavi per conto di al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad, servì a migliorare le relazioni tra il sultanato mamalucco e il regno dei Ḫān di Persia e a preparare il terreno per il trattato di pace del 1323 tra i due Stati³⁹. Salvaygo potrebbe aver compiuto una funzione simile tra l'Egitto e l'Orda d'Oro, anche se le fonti non sono esplicite su questo punto. Una cronaca anonima menziona l'arrivo in Alessandria nel 713 [1313-'14] del fratello di Sakrān, che accompagnava una delegazione dell'Orda d'Oro, con la quale arrivarono anche molti schiavi. Ibn ad-Dawādārī riferisce, per l'anno 720 [1320], l'arrivo di dignitari egiziani e mongoli che accompagnavano in Egitto la principessa mongola Tulunbeg, che doveva andare sposa a an-Nāṣir Muḥammad; il cronista aggiunge che Sakrān e il suo compagno, come anche molti schiavi, erano sulla stessa nave⁴⁰. Se si può prestare fede alla asserzione di Guillaume Adam che tutti gli ambasciatori dal Khan al Sultano e viceversa viaggiavano su navi genovesi⁴¹, ne segue che la principessa e il suo seguito andarono in Egitto su una delle navi di Salvaygo. Ma Sakrān provvedeva soltanto al trasporto degli ambasciatori mongoli ed egiziani oppure partecipava anche alle trattative che facilitarono il matrimonio dinastico tra la principessa mon-

³⁶ Le attività di Salvaygo godevano del muto consenso del comune di Genova? La lettera pontificia del 1317 accenna ad una connivenza di Genova con i suoi cittadini che battevano la bandiera saracena. Inoltre, secondo Desimoni e Kohler, un documento genovese menziona un Segurano Salvaygo come inviato del Comune, probabilmente al re di Cipro, intorno all'anno 1320: C. Desimoni, *Notes*, cit., p. 15; C. Kohler in *RHC. Documents Arméniens*, vol. II, p. CXCI, n. 9. Tuttavia, un esame del documento in questione (ASG, *Archivio Segreto*, N. 2727/21) rivela che solo il nome «Seguran» appare nel testo: l'identificazione con Segurano Salvaygo e la datazione al 1320 sono supposizioni di un archivista moderno. Entrambe le supposizioni vanno scartate: poiché il documento cita «lo doxe de Zenoa e lo so conseio», deve essere stato scritto dopo il 1339, cioè ad una data posteriore alla morte di Segurano Salvaygo.

³⁷ S. Y. Labib, *Handelsgeschichte*, cit., pp. 258-259.

³⁸ D. Ayalon, *L'esclavage*, cit., p. 7.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 3; S. Y. Labib, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-72, 259.

⁴⁰ Appendice F.

⁴¹ Appendice A.

gola e il sultano mamalucco? Le fonti non sono esplicite su questo fatto. In un'occasione, comunque, Sakrān è presentato senza equivoci come protagonista centrale di un affare politico. Nel 711 [1311-12] i messi egiziani che ritornavano da una visita al khan Tōktū insieme agli ambasciatori di Tōktū al Sultano, furono catturati strada facendo dai « Franchi dell'Isola del Mastice », cioè dai Genovesi di Chio⁴². In questo periodo l'isola era governata da Paleologo Zaccaria, il figlio del grande Benedetto, il quale assieme ai suoi figli Martino e Benedetto II sorvegliava le acque del Mediterraneo orientale nel tentativo di impedire il rifornimento di materiale bellico all'Egitto⁴³. I Genovesi offrirono i catturati in vendita prima a Tripoli di Siria, poi si rivolsero a Oshin, re della Piccola Armenia, nella città portuale di Ayas, ma non trovarono compratori, sia a causa dell'alto prezzo che chiedevano — 60.000 dinari per sessanta persone era considerato un prezzo troppo alto — sia, ed è più verosimile, a causa della paura che incuteva ai possibili compratori il sultano mamalucco. Probabilmente fu il re armeno ad informare il Sultano degli avvenimenti: al-Makrīzī, il grande cronista del XV secolo, narra che da Sis, la capitale della Piccola Armenia, la notizia della cattura degli ambasciatori pervenne alla corte mamalucca. La rappresaglia del Sultano fu immediata: egli imprigionò tutti i mercanti franchi — o forse solo genovesi — che si trovavano ad Alessandria⁴⁴ e a Damietta e confiscò le loro mercanzie. Le prospettive di una soluzione immediata erano oscure. A causa di un incidente simile che era successo nello stesso decennio a Cipro, la comunità genovese di Nicosia, uomini, donne e bambini, languivano in prigione da due o forse da quattro anni⁴⁵. Ma i mercanti imprigionati ad Alessandria e Damietta furono fortunati. « Sakrān, il mercante genovese » — così scrive il cronista copto contemporaneo Mufaddal ibn abī l-Fadāil — partì per Chio e fece liberare gli ambasciatori catturati, che arrivarono in Egitto il 22 luglio 1312. Indubbiamente questa azione immediata migliorò ulteriormente la posizione di Sakrān alla cittadella del Cairo, nella capitale mongola di Sarai come anche tra i suoi compatrioti genovesi. Forse questo avvenimento aprì la strada alla sua carriera di provveditore di trasporti sicuri tra le corti del Cairo e di Sarai ed ebbe una ripercussione positiva sui suoi affari nei due paesi.

Nello stesso periodo in cui Sakrān si affrettava a Chio, il suo nome veniva di nuovo registrato a Genova in un atto notarile. Il 27 aprile 1312 e il giorno seguente, un notaio anonimo inseriva nel suo cartolare due atti

⁴² Questa ricostruzione è basata sulle relazioni di Mufaddal ibn abī l-Fadāil, il Copto contemporaneo degli eventi, e di al-Makrīzī, il noto cronista del XV secolo (vedi Appendici C e D). Vi è una piccola divergenza tra le due relazioni: al-Makrīzī narra esplicitamente che gli ambasciatori furono catturati dai Franchi di Chio, cioè dagli Zaccaria; Mufaddal ibn abī l-Fadāil che essi vennero presi prigionieri da « Franchi » e condotti a Chio solo dopo che i loro rapitori non trovarono compratori a Tripoli e ad Ayas. Comunque, secondo entrambe le relazioni i messi finirono in mano agli Zaccaria.

⁴³ Per le attività di Martino e Benedetto II Zaccaria, vedi Guillaume Adam, *De modo Saracenos extirpandi*, in *RHC. Documents Arméniens*, vol. II, pp. 531-533, 537, 542; W. Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, Cambridge, 1921 (rist. ad Amsterdam, 1964), pp. 289-290; cfr. G. Pistarino, *Chio dei Genovesi*, in « *Studi Medievali* » X/I (1969), p. 16.

⁴⁴ Nel 1310 i Genovesi avevano un fondaco ad Alessandria: M. Balard, *Escades génoises sur les routes de l'Orient méditerranéen au XIV^e siècle*, in *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin*, vol. XXXII, 1974, p. 247, n. 11.

⁴⁵ G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, Cambridge, 1948, vol. II, p. 279.

relativi a Nicole de Vimdercio, il procuratore « *Eliani, Ambroxii et Seguaranni Selvaggiorum, fratrum, civium Ianue* ». In ambedue gli atti il procuratore Nicole dichiara di aver ricevuto a Genova, a nome dei tre Salvaygo, somme non specificate di *denarii* genovesi e promette di ripagarle in *livres tournois* alla prossima fiera di maggio a Provins⁴⁶. Quasi un anno dopo, il 7 maggio 1313, un altro procuratore degli stessi tre fratelli Salvaygo fece a loro nome un contratto simile di scambio⁴⁷. Questi atti, insieme all'atto sopra ricordato del 26 giugno 1305, rivelano che Segurano-Sakrān Salvaygo non era attivo solo in Levante, ma che insieme ai suoi due fratelli Eliano⁴⁸ ed Ambrogio continuava ad intraprendere negozi in regioni d'Oltralpe. Sfortunatamente gli atti notarili non rivelano quale mercanzia i procuratori dei fratelli Salvaygo avessero comprato alle fiere di Provins, nella Champagne: si può presumere che avessero comprato, tra l'altro, lanerie del tipo che Sakrān aveva presentato al Sultano nel lontano 1303-'04. Ad ogni modo, è certo che i fratelli Salvaygo erano attivi nel commercio di allume. Il 20 aprile 1311, Eliano Salva[ygo], procuratore dei suoi due fratelli Ambrogio e Segurano⁴⁹, come pure di Paolo d'Oria, e Lucchetto de Mari, procuratore dei tre fratelli de Volta, vendettero 1.145 cantari di allume, allora caricati su una nave che doveva partire da Genova per Bruges⁵⁰. L'atto specifica che l'allume proveniva da Colonea, la cava anatolica a sud-ovest di Trebisonda⁵¹; questo fa pensare che i Salvaygo e i loro soci fossero in concorrenza nel mercato di allume con gli Zaccaria, proprietari di un complesso per la produzione di allume a Focea. Tuttavia, un atto del 27 febbraio 1311 rivela che Eliano Salvano (= Salvaygo) e Lucchetto de Mari avevano comprato 1.000 cantari di allume di Focea⁵².

La carriera egiziana di Segurano-Sakrān Salvaygo era in larga misura in funzione delle relazioni amichevoli tra il Khanato dell'Orda d'Oro e il Sultanato mammalucco, mentre non doveva essere favorita dai suoi contatti ge-

⁴⁶ *Les relations commerciales entre Gênes, la Belgique, et l'Outremont d'après les archives notariales génoises aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, a cura di R. Doejaerd, Bruxelles-Roma, 1941, documenti 1760, 1761, pp. 1063, 1064. La curatrice riteneva che Nicole fosse il procuratore di Elianus Ambroxius e di Seguarannus Selvaggii; tuttavia il testo non permette di dubitare che Elianus, Ambroxius e Seguarannus fossero fratelli.

⁴⁷ « *Ego Leonardus Arena, civis Ianue, nomine meo proprio et procuratoris nomine Eliani Ambrosii et Segueranni Salvaggorum, fratrum, civium Ianue...* », *ibidem*, doc. 1798, p. 1093.

⁴⁸ Eliano è da identificare probabilmente con l'*Elianu Salvaigus* che è menzionato in un atto notarile steso nel 1300 a Famagosta e che è coinvolto in affari con la Romania: C. Desimoni, *Actes*, cit., in *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, I (1893), Doc. CDXIX, p. 300. Un atto genovese dello stesso anno menziona una « *barcha Eliani Salvagui et sociorum* »: ASG, *Notari*, N. 33: *Obertus Osbergerius et Domenicus Durante*, fol. 191r. Nel 1326, *Elianu Salvaygus* appare in una lista fiscale genovese: *Monumenta Historiae Patriae*, vol. XVIII, Torino, 1901, col. 126.

⁴⁹ Renée Doejaerd legge: *Ambrogii et Egidii*, ma un esame del documento originale rivela senza possibilità di dubbio che i nomi sono *Ambroxii et Segurani*: ASG, *Notari*, N. 23: *Osbergero Leonardo e Maggiolo Teramo*, I, parte 1, fol. 27v.

⁵⁰ *Les relations*, cit., doc. 1723, pp. 1029-1030. La curatrice non si rese conto che Andriolo, Cattaneo e Conradino erano figli del defunto Andriolo de Volta; ella fu seguita da M.L. Heers, *Les Génois et le commerce de l'alun à la fin du moyen âge*, in « *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale* », XXXII (1954), p. 33.

⁵¹ Colonea, l'attuale Sebinkarahisar, è situata a circa 130 chilometri a sud-ovest di Trebisonda. Per dettagli sulla cava di allume di Colonea vedi C. Cahen, *L'alun avant Phocée: Un chapitre d'histoire économique islamo-chrétienne au temps des Croisades*, in « *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale* », XLI (1963), p. 445.

⁵² R. S. Lopez, *Genova marinara*, cit., p. 280, n. 1.

novesi. Infatti la sua origine genovese era piuttosto un impedimento che un aiuto nelle sue imprese commerciali nel Khanato. Ma verso il 1320 la situazione politica cambiò considerevolmente: le relazioni tra il Khanato e i Genovesi stavano migliorando, mentre quelle tra il Khanato e il Sultanato peggioravano. Il sultano an-Nāṣir Muḥammad rifiutò ripetutamente di associarsi al khan Özbeg nella sua lotta contro i Il-Khān di Persia; anzi il Sultano stava migliorando le sue relazioni con la Persia e i due Stati muovevano verso il trattato di pace del 1323⁵³. Quando, nel 1322-23, l'ambasciatore di Özbeg al Cairo ritornò in patria riferendo di essere stato maltrattato alla corte del Sultano, il Khan ne fu gravemente offeso. La sfortuna colpì Sakrān, che si trovava in quel momento nel Khanato con una nave carica di mercanzie. Özbeg, nella sua ira, confiscò le mercanzie di Sakrān e lo fece uccidere. Qualche tempo dopo, quando un ambasciatore da parte del Sultano giunse presso il Khan, fu ricevuto freddamente. L'esportazione di schiavi dal Khanato in Egitto venne proibita. Quando a Sakrān, Özbeg sostenne che era stato ucciso da « un re delle isole » — alludeva forse agli Zaccaria di Chio o a qualche altro governante dell'Egeo⁵⁴.

Così, la carriera di Segurano-Sakrān Salvaygo venne a questa infelice conclusione. La sua morte tuttavia non pose fine al flusso di oro egiziano nelle casse dei Franchi, né alla preminenza dei cittadini genovesi alla corte del Cairo, né alle attività dei Salvaygo nel Mediterraneo orientale e nel mar Nero. Circa due anni dopo l'uccisione di Sakrān, Karīm ad-Dīn « il Grande » aveva ancora depositi presso i mercanti franchi⁵⁵. Nel novembre del 1323, alla cittadella del Cairo, il pellegrino francescano proveniente dall'Irlanda, Symon Semeonis, ottenne dal Sultano un permesso per proseguire fino a Gerusalemme senza pagare il tributo; il frate narra che il permesso gli fu concesso tramite l'intervento di *incliti Januenses* e la mediazione dei dragomanni del Sultano⁵⁶. Per quanto riguarda i Salvaygo, continuano a trovarsi dappertutto. Nel 1331 una rissa tra « un certo giovane Salvaygo » e un cittadino di Famagosta suscitò un attacco mortale contro la comunità genovese della città. Nel 1344 Columbano Salvaygo fu testimone per un atto notarile a Caffa. Nel 1346, Cosma Salvaygo era proprietario di una delle galee genovesi che finiscono per conquistare l'isola di Chio. Nel 1360 Francesco Salvaygo comprava una schiava a Chilia, la colonia genovese sull'estuario del Danubio⁵⁷. Quanto ad Ambrogio Salvaygo, egli — oppure un omo-

⁵³ G. Soranzo, *Il Papato*, cit., pp. 475-478; M. Balard, *Precursori di Cristoforo Colombo: i Genovesi in Estremo Oriente nel XIV secolo*, in *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Colombiani*, 13-14 ottobre 1973, Genova, 1974, pp. 153-154; B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, cit., pp. 93-96.

⁵⁴ Vedi Appendice G.

⁵⁵ Vedi sopra, nota 28. Sul commercio degli schiavi tra Caffa e l'Egitto dopo il 1431 vedi W. Heyd, *Histoire*, cit., vol. II, pp. 557-558 e le fonti ivi citate; e anche C. Verlinden, *La colonie vénitienne de Tana, centre de la traite des esclaves au XIV^e et au début du XV^e siècle*, in *Studi in onore di Gino Luzzatto*, vol. II, Milano, 1950, p. 25.

⁵⁶ *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis ab Hybernia ad Terram Sanctam*, a cura di M. Esposito, Dublin, 1960, p. 96.

⁵⁷ *Cronaca anonima genovese*, cit., p. 485; cfr. anche L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'Ile de Chypre*, cit., p. 168, art. 3; p. 177, art. 17; *Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Caffa e a Licostomo, sec. XIV*, a cura di G. Balbi e S. Raiteri, Genova, 1973, doc. 18, p. 46; P. P. Argenti, *The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese and their Administration of the Island, 1346-1566*, Cambridge, 1948, vol. II, pp. 32, 33, 52, 371; *Notai genovesi in*

nimo — appare nel 1331 alle trattative di pace tra i Guelfi e i Ghibellini di Genova; nel 1338 «sire Ambroisse Sauvage et les compaignons» reclamano un pagamento da Ugo IV di Cipro, a loro accordato dall'arbitrato pontificio; il 30 novembre 1339 papa Benedetto XII ordina all'arcivescovo di Genova di legittimare il matrimonio tra consanguinei di Ambrogio Salvaygo con Moisia Squarzafico. Poi, il 14 aprile 1342, Ambrogio Salvaygo appare in un atto notarile, agendo a nome proprio e degli eredi del defunto Segurano Salvaygo; dallo stesso atto risulta che Segurano Salvaygo junior, figlio del defunto Segurano Salvaygo, a quel tempo non era più fra i viventi⁵⁸.

A proposito dello stesso Segurano-Sakrān, ci si può domandare se egli rappresenta solo un altro esempio di intrepidezza e avventurosità genovese verso l'anno 1300, oppure la sua figura ha anche un più vasto significato. Il commercio italiano con l'Egitto è spesso presentato come limitato a un flusso unilaterale dell'oro dall'Europa cattolica in Egitto e oltre. Nel caso di Salvaygo tuttavia l'oro egiziano era affidato a un italiano. È possibile che vi fossero delle condizioni legate ai dinari che Salvaygo aveva ricevuto «per commercio», ma in ogni caso essi incrementarono sostanzialmente il capitale a sua disposizione. Lo stesso si può dire dei mercanti franchi che avevano ricevuto depositi dal Direttore del Tesoro Reale egiziano. In altre parole, le relazioni commerciali tra l'Egitto e i commercianti cattolici non erano sempre limitate alla vendita di articoli orientali di lusso in cambio dell'oro occidentale o di mercanzie tipo schiavi, legname, vetro e stoffe. In certi casi l'oro egiziano era immesso nei cicli di affari dei commercianti europei. Rimane da vedere con quale frequenza siano avvenute queste immissioni ed entro quali limiti cronologici.

Oltremare. Atti rogati a Chilia da Antonio da Ponzò, 1360-1361, a cura di G. Pistarino, Genova, 1971, documenti 1-2, pp. 3-6.

⁵⁸ *Cronaca anonima genovese*, cit., p. 484; L. de Mas Latrie, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 169, art. 4; *Lettres communes de Benoît XII* (1334-1342), a cura di J. M. Vidal, Paris, 1902-11, n. 7258; ASG, Notari, N. 23: Osbergero Leonardo e Maggiolo Teramo, vol. II, c. 116v.

Nel 1343, Ambrogio Salvaygo e suo figlio Giorgio fungono da testimoni ad un atto notarile a Genova: *Les relations commerciales entre Gênes, la Belgique et l'Outremont d'après les archives notariales génoises, 1320-1400*, (ed. Léone Liagre-de Sturler), vol. I, Bruxelles e Roma, 1969, doc. 128, p. 161.

APPENDICE

A) Guillaume Adam, *De modo Sarracenos extirpandi*, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Documents Arméniens*, vol. II, Paris, 1906, pp. 525-526, 531.

Ecce, pater et domine, quanta mala faciunt hii nostri animarum hominum venditores, quantam ponunt maculam in gloriam fidei nostre, quantam confusionem faciunt in domo Domini, quale exhibent sceleris incentivum, quantam bonorum morum destructionem procurant et excidium honestatis. Sed hoc flagitium non perpetrant mercatores superius nominati ut plurimum, sed maxime Januenses, nec omnes Januenses, sed potissime ille, caput peccati, Seguranus Salvatici et illi qui de sua domo sunt et parentela, quos secum ad hec attraxit servicia inimici Sathane, quosque secum in hoc diaboli ministerium dedicavit, in tantum quod predictus Seguranus, cum illis qui de parentela sua secum consenciunt, non ad aliud videtur intendere, nisi quomodo possit per hec opera, Deo contraria, Ecclesiam confundere et Sarracenos, inimicos crucis et persecutores nostre fidei, roborare. Ipse Seguranus frater soldani appellatur, Sarracenus esse creditur, et, ut hostis, fidei Machomistarum fautor et promotor dicitur et defensor. In tantum est soldano conjunctus, quod ipse soldanus eum fratrem suum in suis appellat litteris et amicum. In tantum est Sarracenus, quod ipse permisit predicta peccata contra naturam in suis navibus perpetrari. Vexillum eciam Machometi et soldani Babilonie gestatum fuit in suis navibus et galeis, per se et aliquos de parentela sua, sicut ego, cum horrore et detestacione, oculis meis vidi. Quod fautor Sarracenorum existat manifeste apparet, quia cum soldanus aliquam legacionem vellet mittere, vel nuncios, ad imperatorem Tartarorum aquilonis, pro culto sarracenico ampliando, ipse hujusmodi legacionem et nuncios transvehebat, sicut dicetur inferius magis clare. Promotorem eciam se exhibuit eorumdem, sic quod numquam aliquis fuit ante eum non Sarracenus existens, qui tantam illam sectam pestiferam auxerit et promoverit, portando eis predictorum puerorum christianorum et aliorum multa milia, ad exercendam miliciam, vel alios actus illicitos superius nominatos, portando eciam ferri et lignorum, ut predictur, magnam copiam et aliorum rerum que portari per Ecclesiam prohibentur. Non solum autem ipse, et fratres ejus et nepotes et propinqui, per hunc modum Sarracenis talem fortitudinem prebuerunt, sed et multi alii Januenses, quos, exemplo suo, attraxit ad similia peragendum; quos ipse precedit et precellit iniquitatis hujus dux et doctor nequicie contra Deum. Unde hoc veraciter est compertum, quod vix sit Janue aliqua nobilis parentela, necque alicujus valoris sit aliqua popularis, cuius aliqui Alexandriam iverint vel miserint, quorum aliqui pueros, aliqui alia prohibita portaverint. Et cum solus predictus Seguranus decem millia pueros Sarracenis portasse dicatur, nec multitudo nec numerus sciri potest quos alii portaverunt [...].

Has vero societas predicti duo imperatores¹ per se tractant et firmant, scientibus et cooperantibus Januensibus, sine quibus has collegaciones inter se minime facere possent, nec soldanus ille Tartaro imperatori facarios, id est monachos sarracenos, et alios nuncios, ad pervertendum eum et suum populum, nec Tartarus soldano posset mittere pueros et hujusmodi encenia pravitatis. Quicquid enim isti duo, videlicet Tartarus et soldanus, sibi mutuo volunt mittere, hoc Januenses transvehunt in suis navibus et galeis; et talis iniquitatis ministri et cooperatores effecti, exardescentes ad lucrum et ad pecunias iniantes, ad omne quod contra Deum et Ecclesiam est, et ad omnium Sarracenorum et Tartarorum crimina fautores et promotores se exhibent et actores.

¹ Il Khan dell'Orda d'Oro e il sultano d'Egitto.

B) Cronaca anonima egiziana che tratta degli anni 690-709 [1291-1309-'10], in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlükensultänen in den Jahren 690-741 der Higra nach arabischen Handschriften*, a cura di K. V. Zetterstéen, Leiden, 1919, pp. 129-130.

E in quell'anno [703 (1303-'04)] venne dal Sultano un mercante dal paese dei Franchi, chiamato Sakrān, con molti presenti tra lanerie² e atlas e tessuti preziosi e uccelli.

C) Mufaddal ibn abī l-Fadāil, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks*, a cura di E. Blochet, vol. III, Parigi, 1928, pp. 198-199.

E in quell'anno [711(1311-'12)] rientrarono gli ambasciatori del sultano al-Malik an-Naṣir dal re Tōkṭū; i Franchi li fecero prigionieri assieme agli ambasciatori di Tōkṭū ed erano una sessantina di persone; passarono con loro lungo la costa siriana e arrivarono con loro a Tripoli di Siria e offrirono di venderli in quella città e chiesero un prezzo troppo elevato e chiesero sessantamila dinari. Poi li condussero ad Ayas e li offrirono al principe di Sis³ per questo prezzo, ma egli rifiutò di comperarli, e poi li condussero all'« Isola di Mastice »⁴. Il Sultano venne a sapere di questo fatto e ordinò di catturare i mercanti franchi che si trovavano in Alessandria e di confiscare tutti i loro beni e dichiarò che essi non sarebbero stati rilasciati né i loro beni sarebbero stati ridati, fino a quando i suoi ambasciatori non fossero stati restituiti. Allora Sakrān, il mercante genovese, partì per l'« Isola del Mastice » e li liberò e li rimandò nel territorio egiziano dove arrivarono il sedicesimo giorno di Rabī' I dell'anno 712⁵.

D) al-Makrīzī, *Kitāb as-sulūk li-ma'rifat duwal al-mulūk*, a cura di M. M. Ziyāda, vol. II, El Qahira, 1941, pp. 101-102. [711(1311-'12)].

E pervenne la notizia da Sis che i Franchi dell'« Isola del Mastice » avevano fatto prigionieri gli ambasciatori del Sultano al re Tōkṭū e gli ambasciatori di Tōkṭū che li accompagnavano e contavano sessanta uomini, e che colui mandò come riscatto sessantamila dinari per farsi amico il Sultano, ma senza risultato. Allora fu scritto ad Alessandria e Damietta di catturare i mercanti franchi e di arrestarli tutti. Furono sequestrati i loro magazzini e furono imprigionati tutti. Venne un mercante genovese e si impegnò di riportare gli ambasciatori con quello che avevano e gli fu concesso di partire.

E) *Die Chronik des Ibn ad-Dawādārī*, a cura di H.R. Roemer, parte 9, El Qahira, 1960, p. 280. [713(1313-'14)].

E disse: Poco fa arrivò il detto ambasciatore [del re Tōkṭū] alla Sublime Porta e venne la notizia di ciò ed arrivò ad Alessandria, che sia ben protetta. Allora il nostro signore il Sultano mandò l'emir Sayf ad-Dīn Ākūl, il ciambellano, che lo ricevette bene. Ed erano con lui trecento persone, grandi e piccoli e schiavi e schiave. E venne con lui e nel suo servizio il fratello di Sakrān, il mercante franco, e vennero alla Sublime Porta.

F) *Die Chronik des Ibn ad-Dawādārī*, a cura di H.R. Roemer, parte 9, El Qahira, 1960, pp. 302-303.

E il venticinquesimo giorno di Rabī' I [720(1320)] arrivò l'emir Sayf ad-Dīn Atārdji⁶ dal paese di Berke⁷, dalla corte di re Özbeg, e con lui era la onorabile prin-

² *Djūkh*. Su questo termine vedi E. Ashtor, *Les lainages dans l'Orient médiéval. Emploi, production, commerce*, in *Atti della Seconda Settimana di Studio dell'Istituto internazionale di Storia Economica «F. Datini» di Prato*, Firenze, 1976, pp. 671-77.

³ Oshin, re della Piccola Armenia.

⁴ Chio.

⁵ 22 luglio 1312.

⁶ Probabilmente da identificarsi con Sayf ad-Dīn Tardji, che era in quel periodo l'*amīr madjlis* e che morì il 6 Rabī' II 731: cfr. Makrīzī, *Sulūk*, vol. II, pp. 197, 203 ss., 235-36, 338. Sulla carica di *amīr madjlis* vedi D. Ayalon, *Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army*, in «*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*», XVI (1954), p. 59.

⁷ Cioè il paese dell'Orda d'Oro.

pessa, nipote di Özbeg⁸, e venne con essa un mistico e un giudice chiamato Nür e si diceva: «Questo è il giudice che condusse il re Özbeg all'Islam», ed era con loro una grande moltitudine. E scesero nell'ippodromo di az-Zāhirī⁹ e vennero con loro ambasciatori stimati dalla corte del re Özbeg e ambasciatori franchi. Ed era nella loro compagnia Sakrān, il mercante franco, assieme al suo compagno. Nostro signore il Sultano, che sia sempre vittorioso, li fece venire e parlò con loro. Molti schiavi e schiave erano con loro. Poi il Sultano fece venire gli ambasciatori e il mistico e conclusero il nobile contratto¹⁰. Poi scese all'ippodromo l'emir Sayf ad-Din Arghūn, il viceré¹¹, e l'emir Sayf ad-Din Bektimur, il coppiere¹², e il giudice Karīm ad-Din «il Grande», e accompagnarono [al palazzo reale] la rispettabile dama che, vestita in abiti dorati come si usava in quei paesi, era su una carrozza¹³. Ed è stato detto che gli ambasciatori e gli schiavi e le schiave e Sakrān il mercante e il suo compagno si trovavano tutti su uno stesso battello che sarebbe costato al proprietario ottantamila dinari, ma che fu venduto per cinquantamila oltre due galee (*shīnī*) e una *ṭarīda*¹⁴ che portarono con loro. E il gruppo che arrivò contava duemila quattrocento persone¹⁵, delle quali morirono in mare quattrocento e il resto arrivò alla Sublime Porta¹⁶.

G) al-'Aynī, *'Ikhd al-djumān fi tārīkh abl az-zamān*, parzialmente edito da V. I. Tiesenhausen, *Sbornik materialov otnosjačichsja k istorii Zolotoj ordy* (*Recueil de matériaux relatifs à l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*), vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1884, p. 493. [722(1322-23)].

E avvenne che un grande mercante franco chiamato *Shakrān* era in alta stima presso il re al-Muṣaffar Baybars fino al punto da essere chiamato fratello. Quando morì Baybars, e rimase *Shakrān* [in vita] e il giudice Karīm ad-Din divenne Direttore del Tesoro Reale; questi fece venire *Shakrān* e gli diede sessantamila dinari e gli diede zucchero e altre mercanzie del valore di quarantamila dinari per il commercio; e *Shakrān* conosceva il commercio ed era conosciuto nel suo paese e andò varie volte in parecchi paesi. E avvenne che, nel paese di Özbeg, allestì un battello carico di ogni cosa. E quando arrivò *Shaikh* Nu'mān¹⁷ e fece sapere a Özbeg di quanto venne pregiudiziato e oltraggiato¹⁸, Özbeg non trovò ciò che poteva calmarlo e rubò i beni di *Shakrān* e lo uccise, e

⁸ Il suo nome era Tulunbeg: cfr. B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, cit., p. 93.

⁹ Quando il Nilo cambiò corso nel 714 [1314], al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad fece distruggere le terrazze dell'ippodromo e piantare al suo posto dei giardini: D. Ayalon, *Notes on the Furūsiyya Exercises and Games in the Mamluk Sultanate*, in «Scripta Hierosolymitana», vol. IX: *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization*, a cura di U. Heyd, Yerushalayim, 1961, p. 38.

¹⁰ Cioè il contratto di matrimonio tra la principessa e il Sultano.

¹¹ Su questo personaggio vedi: *The Travels of Ibn Battūta*, A.D. 1325-1354, (trad. H.A.R. Gibb), Cambridge, 1958, vol. I, p. 53; G. Weil, *Geschichte*, cit., pp. 307, 309; «Journal Asiatique», 1894, parte I, p. 314, e 1896, parte I, p. 283.

¹² Su questo personaggio vedi Ibn Battūta, *loc. cit.*; G. Weil, *Geschichte*, cit., pp. 302, 358-59, 377-78.

¹³ Le carrozze erano in uso tra le tribù turche dell'Asia Centrale, ma non nel Medio Oriente durante il medioevo; nel sultanato mamalucco furono introdotte, in piccola scala, come una «usanza turca»: M. Rodinson, *Arabia*, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, seconda ed., s.v.; R. W. Bulliet, *Le Chameau et la Roue au Moyen Orient*, in «Annales, ESC», XXIV (1969), pp. 1092-1094.

¹⁴ Per questi tipi di vascelli v. A. M. Fahmy, *Muslim Sea-power in the Eastern Mediterranean from the Seventh to the Tenth Century A.D.: Studies in Naval Organization*, London, 1950, pp. 131-132, 136-137.

¹⁵ Questo dato sul numero dei passeggeri può essere accettato: nel lontano 1184, Ibn Djubayr partì da Acri su una nave che trasportava oltre duemila *balaghriyyūn*, cioè pellegrini cristiani; nel 1233, il comune di Marsiglia permise ai Templari di trasportare su ognuna delle loro navi fino a mille cinquecento *peregrini*, oltre ad un numero illimitato di mercanti: cfr. B. Z. Kedar, *The Passenger List of a Crusader Ship*, 1250: *Towards the History of the Popular Element on the Seventh Crusade*, in «Studi Medievali», XIII/I (1972), pp. 269-270.

¹⁶ Per un'altra descrizione dell'arrivo della principessa mongola, vedasi Makrizi, *Sulūk*, cit., vol. II, p. 177.

¹⁷ Probabilmente Nu'mān ad-Din al-Khwārizmī, lo *shaikh* che Ibn Battūta incontrò a Sarai nel 1331-32 e che Özbeg teneva in grande stima (*The Travels of Ibn Battūta*, cit., vol. II, p. 516. Cfr. anche B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, cit., p. 425).

¹⁸ In Egitto.

prese tutto ciò che aveva con lui e lo uccise. E avvenne che in seguito venne l'ambasciatore del Sultano ed egli non se ne curò e non gli diede importanza e non gli parlò più di una volta informandosi della salute di al-Malik an-Nâsir. Colui diceva: buona; e gli disse: e anche noi godiamo di salute. E questo fu l'ultimo incontro e vietò agli ambasciatori di comperare qualsiasi cosa nel territorio suo e pretese che Shakrân fosse stato ucciso da un re delle isole.

(*Traduzione italiana di Mario Vinci*)

POSTSCRIPTUM

Al momento della correzione delle bozze ho ricevuto dall'Archivo de la Corona de Aragón la fotocopia della lettera di Ambrogio e Segurano Salvaygo a Jayme II d'Aragona. Desidero esprimere la mia gratitudine al direttore dell'Archivo, Señor Federico Udina Martorell, per il permesso di pubblicare questa lettera.

H) *Cartas reales diplomáticas Jayme II*, Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Judíos N. 402.

Excelentissimo principi domino Ja[cobo], illustrissimo Dei gratia regi Aragonum, Valentie, Murtie, Sardinee, Corsice et Ielbe, comitique Barchinonensi ac sancte Romane ecclesie vexillario, amirato et capitaneo generali, suo domino reverendo, Ambrosius et Seguranus de Salvayguis, cives Janue, cum sui devotissima recommendatione se ipsos. Dum nobilis vir Matheus Jacaria, civis Janue, exhibitor presentium, de carceribus altissimi soldani Babilonie, domini nostri¹⁹, fuit Dei et ipsius soldani gratia liberatus, quem quidem carceres ipsi perlonginqua decruserant²⁰ tempora, nos ex parte nobilium et honestorum consanguineorum vestrorum, fratris Dalmati de Rochabertino, fratris Arnaldis de Beluso, fratris Bartholomei de Villa Francha, et aliorum plurium quos ijdem carceres dudum detinuerunt, precando cum instantia requisivit, quod ad hoc ipsi fratres vestri consanguinei ab ipsis carceribus possent libertatem pristinam consequi, operari vellemus sedari discordiam quam Aymericus Dusay, olim ambaxator vester, inter ipsum soldanum altissimum et vestram excellentiam seminavit, et fraternitatem caramque amiciciam que inter partes ipsas dudum viguerat provocari. Nos vero Dei intuitu et quia optabamus quod semper optavimus salutem propter nostra fidelia servicia si possemus vestre excellentie regie complacere, excellentissimos barones et nostros dominos reverendos adivimus, videlicet dominum Naybum soldanum et Mir Rochedenyn Beybars. Ipsi vero barones, nostris annuentes precibus, talem in promptu dederunt operam, quod sepedictus soldanus altissimus eundem Matheum ad vestram excellentiam regiam mitat cum litteris et quibusdam eidem commissis oretenuis explicandis. Cuius relatibus celitudini regie placeat fidem plenariam adhibere. Quedam vero nos tangentia eidem Matheo referenda cum reverentia vestre maiestati regali commisimus, que supplicantes requirimus exaudiri benigne et effectui demandari. Semper enim vestre excellentie regie serviciis et honoribus exponimus fideliter nos et nostra.

Data Janue die XXVII Augusti²¹.

¹⁹ Così i Salvaygo rivelano pubblicamente la loro connessione col sultano.

²⁰ *Decludere* = rinchiudere. Cfr. *decludatur in carcere* (Gemona, 1379); P. Sella, *Glossario latino-italiano. Stato della Chiesa - Veneto - Abruzzi*, Città del Vaticano, 1944, s.v. *decludere*.

²¹ Per la data vedi sopra n. 19 del testo.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Study II Again: Arabic *rizq*, Medieval Latin *risicum*

p. 259: There are also rural dialects in Egypt and Syria where *q* = *g*. One could, therefore, also entertain the possibility that the pronunciation of the word *rizq* by Levantine merchants, or others, of rural origin influenced Westerners with whom they came into contact. (Letter by A.L. Udovitch, 17 September 1971).

Study III Genoa's Golden Inscription in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre: A Case for the Defence

In his review of this article, my friend Hans Eberhard Mayer argues that Conrad of Montferrat's charter of April 1192 merely indicates the location where the golden inscription was to be established anew, but does not mention at all its (in H.E.M.'s view, purported) original location: *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 44 (1988), 332. Now, the charter's crucial sentence reads: *ut [comune Ianue] supra dominicum Sepulcrum litteras aureas quas olim habuit restauret si voluerit*, and I believe that *restaurare* means here, as elsewhere, 'to restore (an object) to its former condition' (cf. *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. P.G.W. Glare [Oxford, 1976], s.v.). When restoration to the former condition takes place at the object's original location — and this is probably the normal case — just one location is spelled out (in our case, *supra dominicum Sepulcrum*). If the Genoese had claimed, or Conrad had reason to believe, that the inscription was originally located elsewhere, we would expect some specification of that different location after the words *quas olim habuit*. But this is not the case.

Consequently, it is indeed possible that the sight of the Genoese golden inscription in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre made the Icelandic abbot Nikolás mention, sometime before 1153, the 'gold-written letter' that had descended there: See Study V, p. 206 and note c.

Incidentally, the parchment at Genoa's University Library containing Alexander III's letter to King Amalric was first mentioned in 1982 in my study on the patriarch Eraclius. (See Study VIII of the present volume, p. 195, n. 63).

Study IV Gerard of Nazareth, A Neglected Twelfth-Century Writer in the Latin East

p. 56: In the meantime I have had the opportunity to examine the passage from Gerard's

De conversatione in two additional manuscripts: A = Paris, Arsenal, MS 779 (sec. XIV), fol. 27vb–28ra, and S = Sémur-en-Auxois, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 28 (sec. XV), fol. 84v. The variants are as follows:

j	Helie A	k	contemplacionem <i>om.</i> S	p	gloriam <i>om.</i> S
q	Helias A	s	in monte Moysi seorsum S	t	Moysen A
u	Heliam A				

p. 61, n. 29: See also Boeren (note 2 *supra*), pp. xii, xxvi.

p. 72, excerpt from Gerard's chapter 9: *Chosmas, Ungaricus heremita; Bonefatius, socius ejus* appear in 1135 as witnesses to a charter: *Le Cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, ed. G. Bresc-Bautier, Paris 1984, doc. 101, p. 220. (I owe this reference to Bernard Hamilton).

Study V Icelanders in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem

See now also J. Hill, 'From Rome to Jerusalem: An Icelandic Itinerary of the Mid-Twelfth Century', *Harvard Theological Review* 76 (1983), 175–203. [Hill's study appeared a few months after the belated publication of *Mediaeval Scandinavia*, vol. 11].

p. 194, note 3: The passage referring to the Mediterranean was translated and discussed by B.E. Gelsinger, 'The Mediterranean Voyage of a Twelfth-Century Icelander', *Mariner's Mirror* 58 (1972), 155–65.

Study IX The Battle of Ḥaṭṭīn Revisited

p. 201: On 23 August 1992 there was enough water in Birkat Maskana to attract a herd of cattle; it should be noted that the winter of 1991–2 was exceptionally rainy. On 4 July 1993, after another rainy winter, the pool was about half full (observation by G. Ufaz).

Study X Ein Hilferuf aus Jerusalem vom September 1187

p. 118: In his map of *Palestine of the Crusades* (Jerusalem, 1944), C.N. Johns identified Civitas Ficuum with Kh. al-Burj (grid reference 1415/0945), about 7 km northwest of Dhāhiriya. The same conclusion was reached by A. Kloner, 'Two Crusader Sites in the South Judean Hills', *Israel: Land and Nature* 8 (1982–3), 58–60.

p. 120: A fragment of Eraclius' letter that appears in the *Chronica Fuldensis* was edited by W. Heinemeyer. See Study VIII, p. 199, n. 79.

Study XI La Fève: A Crusader Castle in the Jezreel Valley

For a German World War I photograph of the ruins of La Fève that shows, *inter alia*, the western end of the vaulted chamber in the centre of the mound, see B.Z. Kedar,

Looking Twice at the Land of Israel. Aerial Photographs of 1917–18 and 1987–91, Jerusalem and Tel Aviv 1991, pp. 4–5 [in Hebrew].

Study XII A Melkite Physician in Frankish Jerusalem and Ayyubid Damascus

p. 116: Ya'qūb's date of birth can now definitely be given as 561/1165–6: see E. Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work: Ibn Ṭawūs and his Library*, Leiden 1992, p. 82, n. 81.

Study XVI The Passenger List of a Crusader Ship, 1250

Some readers of this article expressed the opinion that the passengers on the *St Victor* were pilgrims, not crusaders; therefore the passenger list does not necessitate a modification of the accepted view regarding the largely noble composition of the later crusades. However, according to the 1250 verdict of the bailiff and judges of Messina, the passengers contended that the shipowners had undertaken to convey them *ad Damiatam*, or to some other ultramarine port, or to the place *ubi esset rex Francie*. The shipowners, in their turn, claimed that they had agreed to take the passengers to Damietta. It is thus evident that the passengers intended to join Louis IX's Egyptian crusade; only when they learned that the king was in Acre did they demand to be taken there.

Study XVII Ecclesiastical Legislation in the Kingdom of Jerusalem

p. 227: The clause forbidding the exaction of *repentailles* appears in a document of 1279 edited in the meantime by Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie, 'Die italienischen Kirchen im Heiligen Land (1098–1291)', *Studi Veneziani* n.s. 13 (1987), 98.

Study XVIII The Subjected Muslims of the Frankish Levant

p. 155: For another case of spontaneous revolt on the fringes of the Frankish-ruled area see Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Die Kreuzfahrerherrschaft Montréal (Ṣobak). Jordanien im 12. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1990), p. 129.

More information on Muslims under Frankish rule appears in works by Ḏiyā' al-Dīn soon to be published by Daniela Talmon-Heller.

Study XXI Segurano-Sakrān Salvaygo

p. 78: To the documentation on the commercial activities of Segurano Salvaygo one may now add a notarial act drawn up in Famagusta on 1 May 1301, by which Segurano

Salvaygo, Martino d'Oria and Sorleone da Croce, co-owners of the galley *Sancta Amantia*, reserve the option to make a trip to Alexandria before leasing the vessel to a group of merchants wishing to sail on it to Constantinople: V. Polonio, ed., *Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (3 luglio 1300–3 agosto 1301)*, Collana storica di fonti e studi diretta da Geo Pistarino, 31 (Genoa, 1981), doc. 364, pp. 436–7. See also doc. 365, pp. 438–9.

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